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SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

SUPPLEMENT

"PRINCE SAIONJI AND THE LONDON
NAVAL DISARMAMENT TREATY"

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R E S T R I C T E D

The Naval Conference and Prince Saionji

Chapter 5

Imperial Appreciation

Translated by Miss Fumiko Segawa.

On the 17th, since I had previously arranged with Admiral OKADA, I had lunch with him and UCHIDA of the Seiyukai. While dining, we talked casually on various subjects until after 3:00 P.M.

On the morning of the 18th, since Plenipotentiary Representative WAKATSUKI was to arrive in Tokyo, I went to meet him on behalf of Prince SAIONJI. WAKATSUKI had a splendid reception, and he and his party returned much healthier than expected. Sometime ago I had written to WAKATSUKI. I wrote to him twice in London, once in Singapore, and gave him detailed reports on political conditions in Japan. When I saw him, I spoke to him immediately. He was glad to see me. He said: "I enjoyed reading your interesting letters. I would like to see you at leisure sometime." I then conveyed Prince SAIONJI's message of welcome to him and was about to go home when the Chief of the General Staff came. The Chief of the General Staff said he wanted to talk to me. Therefore I went along with the Chief of the General Staff to the General Staff Office. We talked for about an hour. Our talk concerned the possibilities of future trouble for War Minister UGAKI. It appeared to me that the War Minister had recounted his entire discussion with Prince SAIONJI to the Chief of the General Staff. Briefly, General KANAYA wants General UGAKI as Governor-General of Korea instead of in political affairs. I myself thought this most suitable, so in parting said: "I'll do my best to offer you

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advice."

While I was in the Chief of the General Staff's room, Prince KAYA sent a message: "I would like to see HARADA when he is free." I have been asked many times by Prince KAYA: "Please come to my Palace," but since I was busy and at the same time cautious, I kept away from seeing His Royal Highness. However, I was obliged to see him before leaving.

His Royal Highness, Prince KAYA said: "I am thinking of appointing NARUSE, Chief Secretary of the House of Peers, as my adviser to assist me on matters that may arise in the future. What do you think about NARUSE's character?" To that inquiry, I answered: "NARUSE is a man of character. He has common sense and I personally think that he is capable of holding that position. I have known him since school days." Hearing my opinion, Prince KAYA seemed greatly relieved. Prince KAYA also said to me: "I would like to meet Prince SAIONJI and hear his opinion concerning the future of the Imperial Family. Therefore, please arrange it so that I may see him sometime." I said, helplessly: "If it is possible, Prince SAIONJI would like to meet with all the members of the Imperial Family and express his opinion concerning their future, but being an aged person, it is regrettable that things do not progress well for him." I left after saying: "I shall arrange for a personal interview with Prince SAIONJI at a convenient time."

Prince FUSHIMI's part in the present disarmament discussion is a serious matter. The problems: "Whether it is good to have members of the Imperial Family assu-

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me responsible positions, from the standpoint of state administration; and the relationship between the Imperial Household and the Government, are very serious. There were some who had ideas similar to those of the Navy Minister. The Navy Minister desires to have only honorary posts for princes in the future, to prevent blunders. Therefore, before Prince SAIONJI met His Royal Highness, I thought it might be a good idea to instil my academic arguments in His Royal Highness. Thinking thus, I returned.

On my way back, I called on the newly-appointed Chief of the Naval General Staff. I mentioned to him the reason of my visit and asked his forgiveness for my belated congratulations. Admiral TANIGUCHI, in a very dignified manner said: "Unfortunately, I have not yet had the opportunity to be favored with your acquaintance. However, I have heard about you from others. I beg that you will honor me with your visits. I would like to exchange views with you and I earnestly seek your close friendship." To that, I replied: "From my standpoint, it is necessary for me to observe political action. Consequently, I would not like to cause any trouble for you. Therefore bearing that in mind, I would like to associate with you. If I can be of any help to you in serving my country, please do not hesitate to tell me. I will do my best." While speaking to the Chief of the Naval General Staff, I thought to myself that the new members of the Naval General Staff seemed reassuring.

On my way back I dropped in at the Navy Minister's office. The Navy Minister spoke to me casually on

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various matters. I mentioned to him: "Several days ago, when the First Fleet arrived in Osaka, the Commander-in-Chief and his staff were invited to a banquet held by Sumitomo. It is said that at this gathering the Commander-in-Chief and his staff voiced dissatisfaction toward you mentioned in such erroneous publicity." The Navy Minister seemed quite satisfied with what I related.

On the evening of June 19th I left for Okitsu. I then met Prince SAIONJI on the morning of the 20th. I spoke to Prince SAIONJI about the homecoming of Plenipotentiary Representative WAKATSUKI. I then told the Prince that WAKATSUKI had said: "I would like to see Prince SAIONJI at the earliest opportunity. However, I would not like to disturb him at this time, so would like to call on him when things are a little less hectic." Prince SAIONJI replied: "I'll see him when time permits."

About two days ago, an article appeared in the newspapers. It seemed like a memorandum pertaining to the relations of the Navy Minister and the Chief of the Naval General Staff on the problem of how to decide military strength. It appeared in the papers as though the Navy Minister presented it at the meeting of the Board of Admirals. Actually, the Navy Minister convened a meeting of the Fleet Admirals and Board of Admirals to discuss the problem of special inspectors. He had not mentioned anything such as a memorandum on deciding the naval strength.

This memorandum regarding the deciding of naval strength had been prepared by the Navy Minister and

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the Chief of the Naval General Staff a long time ago.

It states that whenever matters pertain to naval armaments, which are contrary to the constriction of naval strength, are to be decided, the joint agreement of the Navy Minister and the Chief of the Naval General Staff is required. This has been a usual practice in the various departments and sections, and there is no purpose in writing it up as such in the newspapers. With the rise of the present problems, it had become necessary to prepare such a memorandum. Except for a single grammatical tense difference from the original, this memorandum as printed in the press was the exact replica of the original. Therefore, someone who had participated in the deliberation upon the secret document must have disclosed it.

Regarding the aforementioned matter, Prince SAIONJI said: "If this secret has been disclosed by someone in the Navy circle, it is a corruption of military discipline, a breach of official discipline. It is perfectly absurd. Since Fleet Admiral TOGO is a senior naval officer, he is in a position where he should be much more concerned over the corruption of military discipline, instead of making a fuss about the deciding of naval strength or about the Treaty. It would be useless for the Navy to have naval strength if military discipline cannot be maintained. These are the points which Fleet Admiral TOGO should be cautious about. He should admonish Navy circles on these points."

I asked Prince SAIONJI: "Shall I see Admiral TOGO personally and talk to him along that line?" Prince

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SAIONJI replied: "Let's leave the matter as it is."

Prince SAIONJI related to me the following story:

"Long ago, at the time when General MIURA, Kanju was a Privy Councillor, there were some Privy Councilors who acted politically on various political issues. Therefore, General MIURA resigned his position, saying: 'Under such conditions, I am unable to fulfil my responsibility as a Privy Councillor. It is deranging the law.' I had a difficult time with MIURA, Goro, for he was an obstinate person. Nevertheless, he was very discreet in matters involving the rules.

"I think that it is preferable to have the matter concerning the Disarmament Conference referred to the Privy Council as soon as possible. Please remember me to WAKATSUKI."

That afternoon, when I returned, a newspaper reporter was waiting to see me. The reporter repeatedly said: "The Privy Councillors want to know in definite terms whether or not the New Chief of the Naval General Staff considers the armaments as defined by the present London Treaty to be adequate to safeguard national defense."

The Privy Council is planning to complicate matters. If the Chief of the Naval General Staff replies that he does not consider the armaments to be adequate, it will try to stir up trouble between the Chief of the Naval General Staff and the Government. If the Chief's reply is to the contrary, they will still stir up trouble between the present and the former Chiefs of the Naval General Staff. At this time the most distressing thing for the Privy Council is the fact that the

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new Chief of the Naval General Staff listens to everything that is being said, but refrains from making any comments.

I returned home. In the evening, I visited the Chief of the Naval General Staff at the Naval General Staff office. I said to the Chief: "You are discreet in your policy of refraining from making comments. That is an excellent idea. However, the schemers in the Privy Council are saying such things as... and I related to him the aforementioned story. The Chief of the Naval General Staff seemed to be fully aware of it. He said to me: "I'll continue to restrain myself from making any comments."

I also mentioned to the Chief of the Naval General Staff that Prince SAIONJI was greatly concerned on the point of maintaining military discipline. And, for his information, I confidentially told him about Fleet Admiral TOGO. The Chief replied: "That is quite right. I'll make every effort to maintain military discipline!" On my way back I met the Vice-Minister of the Navy. I chatted with him on various subjects and then returned home.

On that day Plenipotentiary Representative WAKATSUKI and his party had the honor to dine with the Emperor. They were honored with a gracious Imperial message.

IMPERIAL RESCRIPT

You have sometime ago attended the London Naval Conference as Plenipotentiary Representative; you are now reporting back to me here. For many consecutive months, you have carefully and well

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considered your mission, diligently carried out your responsibilities, and completed your duty. I deeply appreciate your efforts.

Two three days later, the Imperial Rescript which Plenipotentiary Representative WAKATSUKI received became an issue. Some were saying: "It is outrageous. The officials close to the Emperor, in order to shield the Government, have advised the Emperor to issue an extremely respectful Imperial Rescript (to WAKATSUKI) therefore the Privy Council is put in an awkward position. It is now unable to criticize the Government's doings."

On the other hand, I heard that Chief Secretary MINAMI of the Privy Council told news reporters: "Since Prince SAIONJI's recent illness, he has become infirm with age and is now a useless person. It is said that he is actually good for nothing. This story was related to me by one of my intimate friends who knew the facts." This came to me as a surprise.

On the evening of the 22nd, Rear Admiral TERA-SHIMA, KONOYE, OKABE and I invited Vice-Admirals OSUMI, NOMURA, KOBAYASHI, and SAKONJI to the Horyu (restaurant) in Tsukiji. While dining, we talked on various matters. According to their story, it seemed that the young officers in the fleets and naval stations were in full sympathy with KATO, Chief of the Naval General Staff. Since the young officers base their sympathy on the propaganda of some aspiring elements without ascertaining the truth, the Commanders-in-Chief of the Naval stations are having difficulties.

As we were leaving, Vice-Minister KOBAYASHI said

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to me: "It seems that EGI, Minister of Railways, is anxious to have the matter speedily referred to the Privy Council. It should not be delayed; however, the matter has to be referred after the plans of the Chief of the Naval General Staff are formulated. If not, it would greatly embarrass the new Chief of the Naval General Staff; and that would be quite unpleasant. Wouldn't it be better to have the approval from the Privy Council after the Chief of the Naval General Staff has had sufficient time to study the matter? Could you please advise the Premier that there are such stories as are mentioned above?"

Vice-Admiral OSUMI is continually receiving threatening letters. It seems that he is considered a weak-kneed person. There are many who are harbouring ill-feelings towards the present Navy Minister. They are saying: "Navy Minister TAKARABE naturally should resign for being responsible for complicating matters."

On the evening of the 24th or 25th of June, a newspaper reporter came unexpectedly to see me. He said that Chief Secretary NIKAMI of the Privy Council stated: "The Chief Aide-de-Camp tendered his resignation, stating that he was estranged from the Grand Chamberlain and Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal when they hindered his direct appeal to the Throne. (The appeal before the report upon instructions in response to the request.) I am sure that KATO, Chief of the Naval General Staff, would not stand for this, especially the outrageous actions on the part of those high court officials close to the

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Emperor. The officials close to the Emperor; the Grand Chamberlain, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and the Imperial Household Minister, might take the responsibility and tender their resignations too. Count KIYOURA might take upon himself the trouble of mediating, etc." I thought it a strange story, and to ascertain the facts, I telephoned Chamberlain HONDA and inquired about the situation. According to HONDA, there were no signs of such an intention.

The following morning I got up early and visited General UGAKI at the hospital. I asked General UGAKI about conditions and UGAKI replied: "If it is said that I have to quit on attaining retirement-age, I'll have to quit sometime in the near future. But there is no reason for me to retire now. I don't know anything about this. Please ask ABE (General)." Then I went to ABE, the Acting War Minister to inquire about the same matter. He (ABE) said: "Until late last evening newspaper reporters came to ask me about this matter. I told them: 'That story is entirely groundless.' Consequently, the newspapers which were prepared to put it on the press desisted from doing so."

In the morning edition of Jiji Shimpō of that very day, there was an article titled, "Gossips & Politics", which had exposed, with an admixture of truth and falsehood, confidential matters concerning the Premier, the Chief of the Naval General Staff, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Grand Chamberlain and others, in regard to the disarmament problem. The article was written in such a way as to be exceedingly favorable to the former Chief of the Naval Gene-

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ral Staff. In fact, although the Grand Chamberlain had not been present when the matter pertaining to the supreme military command was reported to His Majesty, the article made it appear as if he had been present on that occasion. And the article made it appear as if the Chief Aide-de-Camp had not been present at the Audience. The article also mentioned the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and was an outrageous propaganda piece. The article made it appear as though the contents of the article were furnished by SUETSUGU, former Vice-Chief of the Naval General Staff.

The Vice-Minister of the Navy was greatly concerned about this matter and said: "Something has to be done if the source and course of this matter becomes evident." The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was furious. Since the article is groundless, the Office of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal will ban it.

I met Admiral OKADA. He seemed quite concerned about the strong anti-TAKARABE sentiment existing in Navy circles. Admiral OKADA said: "All other matters will progress favorable, but this particular matter is quite troublesome."

Before and after the matter is referred to the Privy Council, the Navy Minister thinks it advisable that former Chief of the Naval General Staff KATO, and the Vice-Chief, shall not be in Tokyo. Therefore, he has been incessantly persuading them, saying: "Since you now have time, why don't you go on an inspection tour of the South Seas?" But, they refuse him flatly. I asked the Vice-Minister of the Navy: "Why not send Admiral KATO as Plenipotentiary Inspector instead

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of OKADA." At that time, Admiral OKADA seems to have felt that the national defense had been secured in the disarmament treaty, and that the Privy Council would raise no serious objections to the treaty .

Early the following morning, WAKATSUKI phoned me. He said: "My report to His Majesty on the results of my mission has been completed. If possible, I would like to report to Prince SAIONJI at the earliest opportunity." I answered: "I'll ask Prince SAIONJI and will call on you within two or three days."

If Prince SAIONJI's health permits, I felt that it would be desirable for him to start meeting people, since rumors were rampant recently that Prince SAIONJI had become infirm with age.

I then went to see the Premier. The Premier stated: "Most assuredly the conference of Fleet Admirals and Field Marshals will be convened. Consequently there may be some difficulties, since His Royal Highness, Prince KANIN, has been greatly influenced by certain elements. However, I'll do my best." Regarding the matter affecting the Navy Ministry, the Premier said: "After the matter is investigated, if the story proves to be true, I will show no mercy."

On the other hand, since the national defense policy cannot be formulated, the Navy is trying seriously to bring Governor-General SAITO from Korea. However, rumors are general that under the terms of the Treaty, it is impossible to formulate a new national defense program. There is even propaganda that the Navy Minister, taking full responsibility, will resign his post. Never in my life have I encountered such alarming and

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wild rumors which are rampant now. Chief Secretary NIKAMI's propaganda is extremely outrageous. I feel that something must be done to enforce official discipline, but unfortunately there is no evidence. According to the Foreign Minister's story: "NIKAMI is making a round of calls on the Councillors, and is instigating opposition toward the Government on the supreme command question. Whenever he meets any Councillors that voice goodwill toward the Government, he will say nothing, but if there is anyone who expresses criticism, he exhorts them vigorously. This is really an outrageous thing."

I then went to Okitsu. I met Prince SAIONJI on the 25th. I mentioned to him the present situation in general. Prince SAIONJI expressed his opinion, saying: "Will it not be quite safe to assume that the disarmament treaty will be passed by the Privy Council? Let us not be too concerned about the future. At any rate, let us get this (treaty) passed (by the Privy Council) and thereupon take consideration of the future."

Prince SAIONJI seemed quite concerned over the depression in financial circles, which threatens to become further aggravated. Prince SAIONJI further stated: "The fundamental principles of the Government's policies must not be changed. It is best to try to cope with the situation with the present policies. I believe that it would be hopeless should an interim short-period prosperity be produced; it would be of no avail. The general (social and economic) trends have produced the present situation. Consequently

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even if we have to suffer seriously, the fundamental policy of limiting the national budget must not be changed. Many persons come and talk about the serious situation. There are many who come, but they all tell the same tale. It is all right (for the nation to issue national bonds in order) to borrow money to weather the present economic slump if we are prepared to face a subsequent worse economic crisis. I am not in favor of the Government borrowing money now.

"A long time ago, in Kyoto, during the latter years of the rule of the (TOKUGAWA) Shogun, I saw people who went around crying loudly: 'I'm hungry, I'm hungry', and who actually collapsed from hunger. There were some who went around spitting the shogunate and reproaching the policy of trading with foreign nations, for causing depressions because of shortages. In comparison with the present depression, I feel that the depression at that time was even more serious. On the other hand, the disarmament treaty should be disposed of somehow as soon as possible."

It was decided that Prince SAIONJI would meet WAKATSUKI on the 30th, at 9:30 A.M. I then left SAIONJI's home.

On the 30th, Plenipotentiary Representative WAKATSUKI left for Okitsu to report to Prince SAIONJI. It appears that he talked on various matters with Prince SAIONJI for approximately an hour and a half. It seemed to me that Prince SAIONJI willingly listened to WAKATSUKI's talk without feeling fatigued. I met WAKATSUKI when he returned to Tokyo. WAKATSUKI was very much delighted to have seen Prince SAIONJI, who was

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much healthier than expected. He said happily: "I was able to talk with Prince SAIONJI about my participation in the London Conference and upon various other matters I have been concerned with. I was also able to express my opinions on various matters to him. There is no person so understanding as Prince SAIONJI. I am very happy that Prince SAIONJI regained his health and heard my report. I am greatly moved."

I went to see the Grand Chamberlain on business. He told me: "Please mention this confidentially to Prince SAIONJI. About ten days ago, Admiral Prince FUSHIMI came to pay his respects to the Emperor. On that occasion, he said directly to His Majesty: 'I have something to relate to you concerning disarmament. Do you care to listen?' To this, His Majesty did not make any reply. Therefore Prince FUSHIMI withdrew from the presence of His Majesty. His Majesty immediately summoned the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and said to him: 'Admiral Prince FUSHIMI said such and such to me. This is not the time for me to listen to him. Since I do not desire to hear his talk, I am thinking of sending my Aide-de-Camp to inform Prince FUSHIMI of my attitude. What do you think of this?' The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, believing this to be a very appropriate mode of action, agreed with His Majesty and left. With due respect, I may say that I feel reassured by His Majesty's discreet disposition of this matter. Please tell Prince SAIONJI to be confident in His Majesty, who is of strong character and as firm as a rock."

His Majesty held a court dinner for the officials

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connected with the disarmament treaty, and a little later, an informal court dinner was held especially for Plenipotentiary Representative WAKATSUKI, Minister TAKARABE, and Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA. This also became a subject of much discussion by the public. The opposition party, or a certain faction seeking the chance of seizing the reins in an interim Cabinet, were spreading propaganda reproaching high court officials close to the Emperor as they did in the instance of the issuance of the (recent) Imperial Rescript.

About that time, when I met KOBAYASHI, Vice-Minister of the Navy, he said to me: "A conference of the Fleet Admirals is to be convened, but I am having trouble, since the anti-TAKARABE faction have strongly influenced Admiral TOGO." The Navy Minister told me that he personally called on OGASAWARA, Naganari, since he was closely connected with Admiral TOGO. He had thought of asking OGASAWARA to talk to TOGO on this matter, but Vice-Admiral OGASAWARA turned out to be a tougher element than expected. OGASAWARA had told him: "To be frank with you, it would be advantageous for Japan if such a treaty were broken." The views of Viscount OGASAWARA, Admiral TOGO and INOUE, Seijun of the House of Peers, and in the manner in which they were talking, were almost identical with those of the former Vice-Chief of the Naval General Staff, Vice-Admiral SUETSUGU. I was surprised at how thoroughly they had indoctrinated the elder statesmen. For example, Fleet Admiral TOGO, with the obstinacy of old age, said: "This Treaty should never have been concluded."

TANIGUCHI, the new Chief of the Naval General Staff,

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went to see Admiral TOGO on two or three occasions to seek TOGO's understanding, but it was of no avail. Since the Chief of the Naval General Staff had once been attached to Admiral TOGO and is well informed on TOGO's doings, he stated: "The only way for me is to have endless patience and to reason with TOGO until he fully understands."

However, it would be disadvantageous if the period before reference of the matter to the Privy Council is prolonged because of this factor. Therefore, yesterday afternoon, July 2nd, the Navy Minister quietly drove to the residence of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal in Kamakura, to discuss this matter.

Privy Council circles are reproaching high court officials close to the Emperor and are severely criticizing them. They are plotting to oust the high court officials close to the Emperor and to replace them with people who meet their approval.

Sometime before this, MORI of the Seiyukai said to me: "It seems to me that Prince SAIONJI is not well-informed about present conditions in the Seiyukai. I have confidence in you, but there are certain elements that come over and suggest that since you are friendly with UCHIDA, you'll get the conditions in the Seiyukai as interpreted by UCHIDA, or that since you had once been secretary to KATO, Takaaki and close to the Minseitō, you would talk ill of the Seiyukai and other parties. Therefore I (MORI) said: 'HARADA is not that sort of person,' but there are many who are concerned about it." I replied: "I am not afraid of what others have to say because I am only doing things which I think.

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are right. I do not act with partiality. It is needless to take it too seriously, but I appreciate your kindness in telling me."

MORI told me: "I am not especially asking or begging to see Prince SAIONJI. However, if he wants to know the general situation, I thought that I myself might go and see him because that would no doubt be more acceptable to him." I told him: "It would be very convenient if you could go and see him. Prince SAIONJI has improved much in health, so please try and see him whenever you have the opportunity. That would be most desirable." Later, when I went to Okitsu, I mentioned to Prince SAIONJI what MORI said. Prince SAIONJI said: "I would like to see him soon."

Since the Foreign Minister and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had said: "At the first opportunity, we would like to call on Prince SAIONJI", I relayed the message to Prince SAIONJI and suggested that he meet an average of about two persons a week. On the 5th, Premier HAMAGUCHI is scheduled to meet Prince SAIONJI after a long interim.

Recently, it began to appear in various newspapers that Admiral TOGO's opinion is very firm. Some Privy Councillors are extensively spreading such propaganda as: "There, look at it now. The matter will never reach the state of reference to the Privy Council. This will now be brought to a deadlock." The Navy is having a difficult time, but the Vice-Minister of the Navy is incessantly saying: "Most likely, by means peculiar to themselves, Admiral TOGO will make a suitable explanation of the situation through Count YAMAMOTO of Satsuma

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faction since they are of the same faction. Therefore, when Count YAMAMOTO was approached to explain the problem to Admiral TOGO, he refused saying: "I do not intend to make any comments. Especially when I am not in any position to do so. I definitely cannot do it."

TANIGUCHI, Chief of the Naval General Staff, Admiral OKADA, Minister TAKARABE, and others went to see Admiral TOGO by turns and talked with him. However, the group around him must have strongly entreated him, for he did not seem to yield. Since the only method that remains is the "slow and steady" principle, Chief of the Naval General Staff TANIGUCHI, Minister TAKARABE and Admiral OKADA got together. They made an effort to find a meeting-point by arguing with Admiral KATO, by criticizing his speech, and by adding explanations to it. Admiral OKADA stated: "I find it difficult to understand Admiral KATO, especially when his true motive is obscure." In short, the first problem was over the question of the infringement of the Imperial Prerogative of Supreme Command; when the problem of the Imperial Prerogative of Supreme Command was settled, the right to decide the military strength was brought forth; and finally opposition to the Imperial Sanction of the Treaty was brought up.

It was the same with Fleet Admiral TOGO. The Navy does not desire to bring disgrace upon Fleet Admiral TOGO, since he is the peerless senior official in the Navy and is historically worshipped like a god. The Treaty was signed by the Emperor through his Plenipotentiary Representative as a matter of national policy. Therefore, it would be an extremely

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serious thing should Fleet Admiral TOGO cause the failure of signed Treaty by his personal opposition. It will have an important bearing upon the whole situation of the nation if protests are made against the military strength decided upon by the Ministers of State and by the new Chief of the Naval General Staff, and if the Imperial Sanction of this Treaty is repudiated. It would be a grave blunder for Fleet Admiral TOGO if he makes moves to such ends.

These three; TANIGUCHI, TAKARABE, and OKADA, did their utmost to make Fleet Admiral TOGO understand. Whenever they went over to TOGO's residence, he always had visitors. It appeared that every day, there were many who went to see him to infuse wild schemes into him for the purpose of making the Imperial Sanction of the Treaty end in failure.

On July 8th, Admiral OKADA had to leave for Ominato on special inspection. Therefore, if the matter is settled, it will be referred to the Privy Council for approval about the 10th. However, no progress had been made up to the evening of the 8th. On the evening of the 7th, I met Admiral OKADA and inquired about the situation. Admiral OKADA said: "The matter does not progress as smoothly as I want. However, on the whole, the outcome of the matter can be seen, but we are being careful not to ruin the reputation of Fleet Admiral TOGO. We have been spending valuable time up to now because we wish to keep Admiral TOGO from taking the wrong course. This is a difficult matter, but after all, we'll manage it somehow."

In the afternoon of the following day, July 8th,

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I went to see the Navy Minister. The Navy Minister said:

"The other day, I talked with Fleet Admiral TOGO for over two hours. I thought that he had grasped what I had said to him, but today, when Admiral OKADA went to pay him a farewell visit before leaving on his special inspection tour, TOGO's attitude had not changed even slightly. This is really troublesome."

The Navy Minister continued: "We shall wait until Admiral OKADA's return on the 14th, and if the matter is not settled by then, we will have to take drastic steps. It cannot be mentioned to others, but there is one troubling matter. When the conference of the Military Council convenes, matters are decided by the majority. At this time, Fleet Admiral TOGO, as senior official, might preside over the meeting. There will be six officials present -- the Admiral Prince FUSHIMI; Admiral KATO; TANIGUCHI, Chief of the Naval General Staff; Admiral OKADA; Admiral TOGO and myself (Navy Minister). If Prince FUSHIMI participates in this, we will have three against three. I fear that if any member of the Imperial Family participates on the casting of votes on such a problem, at such a time, it may be favorable when results are favorable, but when they are unfavorable he may be reproached by the people. To be reproached by the people is not the problem of only one member of the Imperial Family, but of the whole Imperial Household. I wish that something could be done to prevent members of the Imperial Family from participating in this voting. Ordinarily, Prince FUSHIMI does not comment at the various conferences, but it is regrettable that he is misled on this matter by those around

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him.

"I heard Rear Admiral KATO, Takayoshi say that there was a certain movement to have Prince OHGIBU, Prince HIGASHIKUNI, and others attend the Privy Council's conference and to win some members of the Imperial Family to their side. It seems that Vice-Admiral SUETSUGU, former Vice-Chief of the Naval General Staff, goes constantly over to the Princes' and mentions it to them. Such actions are very embarrassing. I think that we should consult Prince SAIONJI on this matter."

I went to Okitsu on the evening train. On the morning of the 9th, I met Prince SAIONJI. I told him about the firm attitude taken by Fleet Admiral TOGO, and recounted other current developments. I also mentioned the matter concerning members of the Imperial Family. Prince SAIONJI said: "Fleet Admiral TOGO is really a hard case. At this time I think that someone might encourage Minister TAKARABE to resign, but he definitely must not do so. He must flatly refuse it, saying: 'My course is left to His Majesty's discretion. Therefore, I am not thinking of resigning.' If they are to wait for Admiral OKADA's return, the matter concerning members of the Imperial Family has to be settled before his return. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal should also give this matter serious consideration."

I told the Prince: "This afternoon Prince KONOYE will be over to see you. How about mentioning this matter to KONOYE and getting his opinion?" I personally wanted Prince KONOYE to handle the whole matter. I returned on the 11 o'clock train. Since I was to by-

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pass KONOYE, I entrusted a letter for KONOYE to the Numazu Station Master. In the letter I told him for the first time about the matter concerning the Imperial Family, and wrote: "I am sure that Prince SAIONJI will mention this matter to you, therefore, please give it thought."

I then returned to Tokyo. At the Koza Station, I received the message: "Your letter has been handed to Prince KONOYE", sent from the Numazu Station Master. Immediately upon my return, I went to the Foreign Office and met Vice-Minister YOSHIDA. YOSHIDA was quite worried about the safety of Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal MAKINO, because of an uncanny letter. This letter is really outrageous. It is evident from its contents that former Chief of the Naval General Staff KATO, is responsible for this letter, especially for the portion which concerns the machinations of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.

OKABE, Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, made a couple of private calls at Chief of the Naval General Staff KATO's residence, and had friendly chats with KATO. At the time when OKABE was in London as a diplomatic official, Admiral KATO was also in London and they had been close friends. OKABE personally was favorably disposed toward his friend and senior and did not even mention these visits to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. He had told KATO: "This is just between you and me", and KATO had said: "Naturally, I will not mention it to anyone." However, in this uncanny letter, it states that: "The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal secretly dispatched Chief Secretary

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OKABE to Chief of the Naval General KATO's home, etc. This matter has caused His Majesty a great deal of solicitude, so I would like you not to cause any anxiety to His Majesty." No person other than KATO would say this. Therefore, this matter is clear. Such actions are really absurd and I was surprised at Admiral KATO's reckless action which lacks sincerity.

The Vice-Minister was extremely worried about Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal MAKINO's safety, and said: "The Metropolitan Police should trace the person responsible for this uncanny letter and deal with him." I myself was of the same opinion. Therefore, I immediately called on the Chief of the Metropolitan Police at his official residence and spoke to him about this matter. The Chief of Police said: "The matter is under investigation at present. This is the third time, so I'm sure we'll find out something. We are putting our full effort into this." I left the Chief's residence after asking him all about the matter. I also asked him about the guarding of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.

Since the date for reference of the Treaty to the Privy Council for approval is still indefinite, His Majesty is scheduled to leave for Hayama on the 11th, to return when the matter is ready to be referred to the Privy Council. Certain elements in the Privy Council are saying: "With the Emperor leaving for Hayama, we should take this opportunity and take vacations at the various summer resorts. The matter will never be referred to the Privy Council for approval."

The Naval Conference and Prince Saionji

Chapter 6-a

Prince Fushimi's Vote

Translated by Lieut Morio Morihara

I was taking a bath on the evening of the 11th when there was a sudden telephone call from the Navy Minister who said: "Please come immediately." I went to his official residence in a great hurry, and the Navy Minister said: "This involves a lot of trouble for the Prince (FUSHIMI), but I wonder if there is not some way of preventing him from participating in voting? As a War Councillor, he has the right to vote. However in society, he is a member of the Imperial Family. His Highness's vote will decide vital problems, and this becomes a serious question when his own good is considered. Therefore I believe that at this time, the best course for the Imperial Family is to have the Prince refrain from voting. I think that it would be well if the Emperor spoke a few words of caution in a supervisory capacity. However if that should provoke new issues we will be in greater trouble. How do you feel about it?"

On the point of whether the President possesses both an ordinary and a casting vote, it is Chief of the Naval General Staff TANIGUCHI's opinion that as a fundamental rule, up to the present time, the President of the War Council does not possess ordinary voting power. It has been the custom of both the Imperial Diet and Privy Council up to the present that in case of a tie the President has the power to cast the deciding vote.

The Chief of the Naval General Staff visited Fleet Admiral TOGO with that in mind, and said: "You are the

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President. Therefore you must consider that there is no opportunity for you to express your will." The Fleet Admiral had a dubious look on his face and said: "That is outrageous. According to recent theories, the President is also a member of the Diet and as a result he possesses voting rights. Also, he has the right to cast the deciding vote, as President. For instance, if there are five members, and three support a certain proposal while two oppose it, and the President himself has opposed it, there will be a deadlock if he casts his vote in opposition to the proposal. If during this deadlock he casts his deciding vote in favor of the party in opposition, their opposition will be sustained."

Chief of the Naval General Staff TANIGUCHI said in a friendly manner: "I will investigate the matter," and parted with the Admiral. Concerning the voting rights of the President, the Navy Minister had consulted the professional opinion of Minister of Railways EGI, and the Railway Minister was earnestly investigating the problem.

I went to the Foreign Ministry and was talking with Vice-Minister YOSHIDA when there was a telephone call from the Premier's official residence. The Premier requested that I come immediately. When I went to the Premier's official residence, the Foreign Minister also was in the Prime Minister's room. The Premier said to me: "The Foreign Minister is departing for Okitsu tomorrow. Are there any inquiries which you want the Foreign Minister to make?"

I replied: "I have nothing special to report. However the Premier will not be able to make very many visits, and if he has not yet told the Prince of his general

Prince Fushimi's Vote

intentions in case of a serious issue between the Cabinet and the Privy Council, it would be well if the Foreign Minister reported such intentions." When I said something like this, the Premier replied that he would do that.

Both the Premier and the Foreign Minister were apprehensive of the exceedingly regrettable results that the voting rights of the Imperial Family might produce, and said: "Is there no way to succeed in having the Imperial Family refrain from voting? Is this matter outside the supervisory power of the Emperor? Can he do such things?" I replied: "I will make some mention of it, but I wonder how it will turn out?"

I was to meet the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at seven o'clock, so I went to the official residence of the Lord Keeper in Takanawa. The Lord Keeper was worried about various things and inquired about the situation, so I told him of Fleet Admiral TOGO's opinions concerning the right of the President to participate in voting. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said: "According to previous custom, ordinarily the President does not participate in voting. He only casts the deciding vote in case of a tie; it would be all right as it is, would it not?" The Lord Keeper continued: "In regard to the problem as to whether the Emperor should use his supervisory power to forbid Fleet Admiral Prince FUSHIMI to vote as a member of the War Council, I believe of course that it is better for the Prince not to participate in voting. However, he is a War Councillor, with important responsibilities delegated to him by the Emperor. The right to vote is part of the duty laid upon him by the Emperor, and it will be a great

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contradiction if he is prevented from doing so. This problem is very difficult."

I related the Prince's message in which he said: "As long as this issue has developed to this extent, it is better not to hurry," to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. The Prince also suggested that we wait until Admiral OKADA's return on the 14th, and I also relayed this information.

I had not met KONOYE since his return from Okitsu, and since he had requested me to go to Kuwana where he was waiting, I stopped by on my return. After 9:30 o'clock, I visited the Minister of the Imperial Household and the Grand Chamberlain who were staying at the Chahaen in Hayama while accompanying the Emperor. I talked with them on various subjects, and the Minister of the Imperial Household understood the situation very well. He was worried over various problems in question, but it was both his opinion and the opinion of the Grand Chamberlain that the Emperor should refrain from cautioning the Princes. Concerning the voting rights of the President, the Minister of the Imperial Household, as a student of the Constitution, had previously advanced the theory that the President concurrently possessed ordinary and casting votes.

The Minister of the Imperial Household said: "I do not want you to quote me on this, but the Grand Chamberlain has also said that among the traditions of the War Council, the interpretation of the regulations is the privilege of the Navy Minister. Therefore if the Navy Minister should decide that the President does not possess the right to vote, it should be sufficient."

Say for instance that the conference of the War

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Councillors were held, and that there are three votes supporting the national defense proposal of the Government. There are two men opposing it. Fleet Admiral TOGO, as President, could vote in opposition. The vote would be 3 to 3, and Fleet Admiral TOGO could cast the deciding vote in favor of the opposition. However Fleet Admiral TOGO and Admiral KATO would have to submit their resignations if this matter were brought before the Emperor, and his Majesty should decide instead, to take the proposal of the Chief of the Naval General Staff and the Navy Minister, who also act in an advisory capacity. Thus, if the situation is confused in this manner, and one faction of the Privy Council should be active, a serious political problem will arise. Therefore such things should be avoided as far as possible. The Privy Council must limit its conference to the consultative sphere and the War Councillors should hold their discussion, in harmony with this, to the professional standpoint. The Government will say to the Privy Council: "The new national defense plan will be adequate if it stays within the limits of this Treaty." They will take the responsibility, and if the Privy Council has to await the action of the highest consultative body of the Army before replying to the Imperial inquiry, the Privy Council must take the blame for retarding its own conference. It is well to arrive at conclusions after seeking the wise decision of the Emperor at the very end, but if possible, it is better not to bother His Majesty. Therefore even if the Prince (FUSHIMI) should attend, it will be better to follow the custom under which the President does not have the privilege

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of casting an ordinary vote.

I went to Ofuna at 11:55 that night and proceeded to Kozu by express. Since it was so warm in the train, I stopped over at Kozu. I departed for Okitsu on the 5:45 train in the morning, and made my report in minute detail. The Prince said: "It is not desirable to bother the Emperor directly but it may not be possible to avoid consulting His Majesty concerning this voting problem." I also said: "Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA will be coming tomorrow," and returned to Tokyo that evening. When I reached Shinagawa station, the Premier's secretary brought a message and said: "The Premier will go to Kamakura tonight. He wishes you to visit him at your convenience. The Railway Minister and the Navy Minister will stay at their official residences until about 5:00 o'clock, so will you come?"

I proceeded directly to the Navy Minister's official residence after I detrained at Shimbashi. I said to the Navy Minister: "How about you, who have the right of deciding the interpretation of regulations, deciding against the ordinary voting rights of the President?" The Navy Minister answered: "The trouble is that Chief of the Naval General Staff TAN IGUCHI was charged with the responsibility of investigating the voting rights of the President the other day. In regard to this, he took the results of the investigations of the Secretaries of the Army and Navy, and the staff of the Legislation Bureau to Fleet Admiral TOGO's place. He said that, after all, the President still possessed the right to cast ordinary and deciding votes. It was the new theory that the Prince (FUSHIMI) had two votes. As a result, a mutual agreement between the Army

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and the Navy has already been reached."

I was surprised to hear of such rapid developments. I heard that the Railway Minister had called on Vice-Minister KOBAYASHI. I had referred this problem to the Navy Minister, so I believed that it was concerning this problem. The Navy Minister said to me: "Wait until KOBAYASHI returns." I waited for a while, but since it became too long, I went to the Railway Minister's residence. The Railway Minister said: "I made various inquiries and it seems that it is better, both in the Privy Council and in the Imperial Diet, if, in accordance with custom, the President does not participate in the voting. I tried to tell this to KOBAYASHI just now, but I hear that he reported a different opinion to Fleet Admiral TOGO. I wondered why he didn't await my opinion. This is a troublesome problem."

I heard that the Minister of the Imperial Household had returned to his official residence in Bancho, so I visited him there. I spoke to him of past events, and then went to the Premier's residence in Kamakura about 8:30. In the course of our conversation, the Premier said: "The Navy has already gone as far as it can concerning this problem of the voting rights of the President, and it does not know what to do. I wonder if there isn't something that can be done about it?"

It was decided that it would be better if the Army sought an understanding with the Navy, and the Premier said: "I would like to request the assistance of War Minister UGAKI. I wish that the Prince could say a few words to UGAKI. Will you go to Hakone right away?" I thought that it would be undesirable to treat such an important matter

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lightly when it concerned the Prince, so I took the 9:28 train from Ofuna and headed toward Shizuoka again. I reached Okitsu at dawn. I went to the Prince's residence about 7:00 o'clock and related various incidents.

The Prince said: "It is exceedingly bothersome for me to prevent the Field Marshals from participating in the conferences of the Board of Field Marshals and Fleet Admirals, and to discourage the War Councillors and Generals of the Army from participating in the conferences of the War Councillors. Not only that, I dislike such things. However if I should say in a general way to General UGAKI: 'The Government seems to be in serious straits. I would like to ask your assistance in this time of crisis,' it would be enough if you related the minute details to him."

I went to Numazu on the 8:00 o'clock train, and from Numazu I went to Gora in Hakone by bus. I then called on War Minister UGAKI. General UGAKI also said: "It has been the usual custom that the President does not participate in voting. Instead of advancing various theories, let us do things according to custom. It would be fine if a solution could be found without hurting anybody. At any rate, I will call Vice-Minister SUGIYAMA and talk to him."

I got off at Odawara at 1:00 o'clock and returned to Tokyo. I planned to telephone the Chief of the General Staff immediately and tell him of my talk with General UGAKI, when I learned that Chief of the Naval General Staff TANIGUCHI was planning to visit the Chief of the General Staff in secrecy. I called him beforehand by phone, and went to Minister TAKARABE's place to tell him of recent

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events. I went to the Chief of General Staff's residence on my return, and told him about the problem. The Chief of the General Staff said: "I will do something. I have the authority to prevent the Field Marshals from participating, but I have my doubts concerning the voting rights of the President because they have already been agreed upon. However I will think of something, since it is a serious problem."

I returned after that. That night, I was attending the welcoming party for Plenipotentiary WAKATSUKI and his party at the Shinkiraku, when there was a telephone call from secretary MOTODA of the Army. He said: "UGAKI was going to call Vice-Minister SUGIYAMA tonight. However, it could not be arranged, so I got in touch with various government organs and inquired about the problem of the voting rights of the President. I reported to War Minister UGAKI by phone that the Army-Navy agreement had already been concluded, and UGAKI said: 'Tell that to HARADA.' That was his instruction."

I thought it was queer, but I said I understood, and put down the telephone. I called the Chief of the General Staff immediately after that, and said: "The situation is very queer. It seems that everything has reverted to its original status. It is only because of this anxiety that I took the trouble to visit UGAKI. This is exceedingly irregular, and I wish that you would appreciate the situation which I have related to you, and consider it further."

The Chief of the General Staff said: "I understand."

I called the Chief of the General Staff again the next morning, and he said: "I will go to General UGAKI's residence

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to tell him of recent events. However, I believe that we must speak of this to ABE, who is acting War Minister, and also a State Minister."

I knew that Acting War Minister ABE was planning to visit the Chief of the General Staff at the General Staff Headquarters at 8:30 in the morning, so I visited the Acting War Minister immediately in order to see him before that, and told him of everything.

War Minister ABE agreed in general, but he said: "The problem of voting rights has already been decided, and it is a little odd to change the decision arbitrarily at this time." At any rate, I told him all I had to say. At 9:30 on the same day the Chief of the Naval General Staff was to visit the Chief of the General Staff at the General Staff Headquarters in order to present the new national defense plan. The Chief of the General Staff, the War Minister, and the Chief of the Naval General Staff seemed to have conferred on various subjects.

I was called suddenly by the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal in the morning of the same day. I went and related everything. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal regretted very much the fact that Chief of the Naval General Staff TANIGUCHI had prematurely reported the status of the President to Fleet Admiral TOGO.

The Naval Conference and Prince Saionji

Chapter 6-b

War Councillors Approve

Translated by Lt. Morio Morihara

I met the Chief of the General Staff that morning and heard today's story. I also saw the so-called agreement. Briefly, the agreement was: "There are two conflicting opinions concerning this problem. Therefore neither side will be favored. However, as far as the Army and the Navy are concerned this will be left to the discretion of the President of the War Councillors at that time." In other words, it will depend upon the opinion of the President at that time whether he will be able to utilize two votes, or will limit himself to one, a casting vote.

The Chief of the General Staff said: "I want you to mention this only to the Prince. Concerning the new national defense plan, the Chief of the Naval General Staff is accepting responsibility with full confidence, and I have absolute faith in him." He showed a favorable attitude toward him, and continued: "The General Staff Headquarters will endeavor to establish a national defense plan in keeping with the national defense plan of the Chief of the Naval General Staff."

On the afternoon of that day, since Admiral OKADA had returned in the morning, the heads of the Navy gathered at the official residence of the Navy Minister and talked intimately on various subjects. Vice-Minister KOBAYASHI said: "The Former Chief of the Naval General Staff even offered to go to Fleet Admiral TOGO to talk to him, and today (July 15) Chief of the Naval General Staff TANIGUCHI is going to visit the Prince (FUSHIMI) at Karuizawa. This

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is a little better isn't it? It isn't bad. It's a favorable turn of events." He was very happy, although I thought that we could not be sure yet.

The Army's attitude

Prince Higashi-Kuni

Fleet Admiral TOGO

Field Marshal Prince FUSHIMI

Prince SAIONJI's opinion desiring a speedy Imperial
Sanction

Although I am a little vague as to dates, I think that it was the 16th. On that morning, the Chief of the General Staff, in order to return the formal visit of the Chief of the Naval General Staff, went to the Naval General Staff to visit the Chief. The Chief of the General Staff said to me: "I parted with him (Chief of the Naval General Staff) after saying: 'Concerning the new national defense plan of the other day, the Army will rely on the Chief of the Naval General Staff, who has the responsibility, and will establish an Army national defense plan in keeping with this.' "

After that I learned that it was unofficially decided to name Prince HIGASHI-KUNI Commander of the Nagoya Brigade. I visited the palace of the Prince (HIGASHI-KUNI), and being given audience, I talked of various things with His Highness. At that time it was being rumored that former Vice-Chief of the Naval General Staff SUETSUGU had talked to Prince HIGASHI-KUNI and had related the stand which the Naval General Staff took concerning the details of the disarmament conference. Rumors had it that it (SUETSUGU's plan) earned wholehearted approval from the

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Prince (HIGASHI-KUNI). After Vice Admiral SUETSUGU's report, His Highness immediately visited Prince CHICHIBU and he said to Prince CHICHIBU: "When this military disarmament treaty is referred to the Privy Council, you (Prince CHICHIBU) have the authority to attend because you are a Prince of Imperial blood. Therefore please extend your fullest endeavors concerning this important matter."

I asked: "What is the actual situation?" The Prince said: "I had Hiroshi SAITO of the Foreign Ministry come, and heard of the events of the London Conference. Vice-Admiral SUETSUGU had also wanted to speak to him by all means, so I made inquiries of him to learn what the opposing faction had to say. However I did not necessarily approve of it, nor did I go to Prince CHICHIBU's place as a result of this, and this rumor must have put Prince CHICHIBU to a lot of trouble. This is indeed bad. It is exceedingly regrettable that such false rumors should be circulated." Those were the Prince's words.

I had heard indirectly from Vice Navy Minister KOBAYASHI that the basis of such rumors came from Takayoshi KATO who was the Chief of the Strategy Section of the Naval General Staff. I said: "Does Your Highness know Rear Admiral Takayoshi KATO?" His Highness (Prince HIGASHI-KUNI) replied: "I do not know him at all." I took leave of the Prince and told Admiral OKADA, the Vice-Minister of the Navy, and the Navy Minister, that the rumors of the Prince's activities were totally dissimilar to the actual facts.

The Chief of the Naval General Staff and Admiral OKADA frequently visited Fleet Admiral TOGO, and also met with Admiral KATO. They seemed to work for an alleviation of

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the problem, and Prince FUSHIMI recently came to understand the situation very well. Prince FUSHIMI reportedly said: "It is bad for the country to block Imperial Sanction of this disarmament treaty. It is sufficient if the Government takes the responsibility of making up for the inadequacy of military personnel, and I am not opposed to this Treaty itself."

In other words, it seemed as if Admiral TANIGUCHI's trip to Karuizawa was remarkably effective. The only trouble was that a Vice-Admiral named Naganari OGASAWARA was accompanying Fleet Admiral TOGO. He repeatedly seemed to act on behalf of Fleet Admiral TOGO, and said such things as: "TAKARABE must assume the blame and resign," or: "It was because of America that the submarine tonnage was reduced to 50,000 and so many tons. If Japan were to possess a total submarine tonnage of over 70,000 tons, America would feel a great deal of pressure from Japan. Therefore it exerted all its efforts to reduce Japan's tonnage to a little over 50,000 tons." He insistently said such things to the newspaper reporters that he gathered around him, and it is said that the total number of persons coming in and out of Vice-Admiral OGASAWARA's home numbered forty or fifty a day. According to the reporters, they only went to gain material from one side for fun, and actually they were treating OGASAWARA's statements very lightly.

The reporters said: "At any rate, he is the central figure in this problem, and when everyone goes there, the Admiral indulges in big talk, waving a large fan, believing himself to be an influential politician." Some others said: "He is a troublesome character." It seemed as if

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the majority of the reporters did not take him seriously but I thought that this was an exceedingly irritating problem.

On the 20th of July, at 8:30 a.m., the big four OKADA, TAN IGUCHI, TAKARABE, and KATO, gathered and conferred for about two hours. However, Admiral KATO's opinions were not quite clear. It seemed that Admiral KATO had planned to reveal all of his ideas at the unofficial conference of the War Councillors on the 21st, and it was the resolution of the Navy Minister, the Chief of the Naval General Staff, and Admiral OKADA that their minds were made up, might happen, to do what they had to do.

The actual problem brought up in the frequent conferences up to today was the satisfactory wording of the reply to be sent to His Majesty. Concerning the words to be used, Admiral KATO seemed to desire to use the word "defective" instead of saying: "The personnel strength decided by the London Treaty is "insufficient," or "inadequate," or "difficult." If this were to be expressed bluntly, it seemed that KATO wanted to say: "The responsibility of plenipotentiary TAKARABE, who recognized the content of this Treaty to be faulty is questioned. However, this is not the responsibility of TAKARABE himself, but the responsibility of the Government. For this reason, the Government must resign en bloc." He seemed to desire the usage of the word "faulty" by all means. However, the Government wanted to avoid this. The word "fault" was used in the formal reply of Premier HAMAGUCHI in his report at the Diet session, and they believed that it was unavoidable to use the words: "Although there are faults." However

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this was to mean that there were no faults in the Treaty itself. There was a fault in the content if the personnel strength embodied in the Treaty were viewed in the light of the national defense plan decided upon secretly by the Navy in 1923. However it was the contention of the responsible authorities that this fault would be fully remedied, and it was the desire of men like Admiral OKADA to contend with the opposition to the very end by showing that there was no fault in the Treaty itself. I left for Okitsu on the night of July 18, and on the morning of the 19th I accompanied the Prince who was going to move to Gotemba. We safely completed the moving amid heavy rainfall and thunder.

At that time, the Prince said: "I said the other day that it was better for the Government not to hurry this matter. However it may be better if Admiral OKADA is consulted fully again. He will be returning on the 14th from his special inspection duties. I said that it was permissible to be leisurely for two or three days, and did not mean that it was all right to postpone action until September. You must not be taken in by the stratagem of confusing this problem by postponing action until the political season in September. This problem must be completely concluded as soon as possible----either by the end of August, or by the middle of August. The other day, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal came, and said in effect that it was permissible to proceed slowly, and that it was all right if it took until September, but this differs from my idea. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal insistently said: 'If TAKARABE resigns, that will end all squabbles. EGI has

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also consented to TAKARABE's resignation.' However I do not believe in this."

I said: "If Minister TAKARABE should resign now, it will cause great disturbances. Railway Minister EGI especially knows full well of your opinion that Minister TAKARABE must absolutely refrain from showing signs of resigning; he himself said to me: 'Please try to encourage TAKARABE and raise his spirits so that he will not resign.' These are facts, and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal is surely being fooled by someone." The Prince said at that time: "I asked MAKINO: 'Who requested TAKARABE as the Navy Minister anyway? As long as it was the Premier who was responsible for appointing TAKARABE as a member of the Cabinet, it is not proper for a third person to say various things.' MAKINO agreed with me."

I returned that night and met Premier HAMAGUCHI, Admiral OKADA, and Railway Minister EGI. For their reference, I relayed the Prince's message, in which he said: "As long as the issues with the military have been generally settled, the matter of the Imperial inquiry must be settled as soon as possible. It is undesirable that it should be postponed until September." Railway Minister EGI, Admiral OKADA, and the Premier were strongly of the same opinion.

Unofficial conference of the War Councillors

Official Conference

Reply to the Throne

Imperial inquiry directed at the Premier

The unofficial conference of the War Councillors was

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opened at the official residence of the Navy Minister at 8:30 on the 21st. After the minute explanation by the Chief of the Naval General Staff of the contents of the new national defense plan, which took four hours, Admiral Prince FUSHIMI inquired of the Navy Minister: "If the personnel strength decided by the London Conference has faults from a strategical and tactical standpoint, does the Government possess the resolution to remedy this?" The Prince inquired in minute detail as to what number would be reached during what year, whereupon the Navy Minister became very tense, and replied: "I am not able to make an immediate answer concerning such things. We must consider this further."

Admiral KATO who was in the conference, said: "It is undesirable to be so indefinite. In that case, I will directly question the Premier. The Navy Minister said: "It is impossible to expect the Premier to make any direct statements concerning this problem when there has not been an Imperial question concerning it. It is possible for me to try to guess what the Premier has in mind, within the bounds of my responsibilities...." We agreed to "close the conference with this, and to gather again tomorrow," since it was found impossible to conclude the debate in one conference.

After the adjournment, I went to the official residence of the Navy Minister. Vice-Admiral KOBAYASHI was there and he said to me: "I am slightly disappointed with my boss. Even if data are handed to him in written form, he does not handle them properly. When there was a question from the Prince he should have said: 'I have full confidence

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that the Government will remedy the faults in personnel strength, assuming full responsibility together with the Chief of the Naval General Staff, so please be at ease.' Instead, he got exceedingly tense, and said such things as: 'I will think it over,' and the matter became drawn out again."

I met the Navy Minister in the presence of the Military Affairs Bureau Chief and others, so I said: "I feel very much chagrined; why didn't you say: 'Please be at ease because I will assume full responsibility together with the Chief of the Naval General Staff in remedying any inadequacy?' It is very regrettable." The Navy Minister said: "If I were a bystander like you are, I could say anything. This is a difficult situation." The Military Affairs Bureau Chief who was there, said: "I also feel that the impasse is exceedingly regrettable."

I then met the Premier, and also talked to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal by phone. The Navy Minister was scheduled to meet the Premier at seven in the evening. However before that he visited Vice-Admiral KOBAYASHI and Railway Minister EGI. He said: "I asked them to encourage the Navy Minister to the fullest extent." That evening, EGI, ANDO and SHIDEHARA gathered at the official residence of the Premier. The Navy Minister was of course there, in accordance with the Premier's intention. The Navy Minister was conferring with the Premier as to the contents of the reply which he was to give the War Councillors on the next day.

When I met the Premier the next morning, he said: "Last night, there was a meeting of all of us. We decided

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to have the Navy Minister say that when personnel required replenishment, it would be accomplished as needed, as far as the limits of finance and other general conditions permitted. It was to be the Navy Minister's responsibility to tell them that, as far as he could see, I possessed the confidence to strive for the realization of this purpose. In other words, we are going to have the Navy Minister reply that it will be realized....as far as the limits of finance and other general conditions permit."

On that day the conference was opened at 8:30 in the morning. Before that, Admiral OKADA, the Chief of the Naval General Staff, and the Navy Minister, conferred with each other. As a result, they realized that the words "as far as finances and other circumstances permit" would become an issue in the unofficial meeting of the War Councillors, so the Navy Minister took the responsibility of changing it to: "The utmost endeavors will be exerted to realize this objective by utilizing finance and other circumstances as necessary." When he went to the conference, there were various opposing statements from Admiral KATO, such as the necessity of preserving the three fundamental principles, and so forth; but in the end, the above reply was generally acceptable. After the conclusion of the conference, the Chief of the Naval General Staff sent a request to the Emperor to call an official conference of the War Councillors. As a result, the Emperor immediately dispatched the Grand Chamberlain to the home of Fleet Admiral TOGO, who was to become the President of the conference, and it was finally decided to open the official conference at 10:00 a.m. on the 23rd.

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I met and reported the general situation to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Minister of the Imperial Household, and after also meeting the Premier, I went to Gotemba the following morning and related the above details to the Prince. When I came back to Tokyo a little after 3:00 p.m., the official meeting of the War Councillors had already been successfully concluded, and the reply to the Throne had been agreed upon unanimously. It was decided that Fleet Admiral TOGO and the Chief of the Naval General Staff would proceed together to Hayama to report on the successful completion of the conference.

I do not know the exact contents of the reply to the Imperial Throne, but it seems as if the word "insufficient" was used instead of the forceful word "fault."

When I met the Navy Minister on the previous day, he had anxiously said: "It was because of my incompetence that the conference was delayed to such an extent. I have no excuse to give for the incompleteness of everything." He seemed to feel his responsibility very keenly. I felt sorry for him, and said: "The ones who should take the blame are those who endeavored to confuse this current problem, and it is not at all necessary for you to feel the responsibility so keenly. Rather than that, the blame should be put on the group who were the puppets of the politicians who opposed the Treaty."

I reported by telegram to the Prince in Gotemba that the conference was successfully concluded. It was decided that the Premier would report to the Emperor on the scheduled opening of the special Cabinet meeting and that he would request that the Emperor attend the Privy Council. He

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was to go to Hayama on the next day for this purpose.

At the same time, Fleet Admiral TOGO and the Chief of the Naval General Staff took the reply of the War Councillors to the Emperor, and requested: "Please question the Premier in regard to the contents of this reply."

As a result, the Grand Chamberlain, in accordance with orders from the Emperor, visited the Premier. Since the Emperor was going to question the Premier in regard to the reply of the conference of the War Councillors, the Emperor was pleased to accept the reply of the War Councillors from Fleet Admiral TOGO, and relayed the Imperial decision that His Majesty would grant an audience to Premier HAMAGUCHI. The Premier received this with reverence and the Grand Chamberlain immediately took his leave. The Government did not open a special Cabinet conference on the 25th. The document in reply was prepared and referred to the various Cabinet members. A formal acknowledgment was obtained, and this was brought a second time to the Imperial villa in Hayama and presented.

I returned from Gotemba and met with the Premier and the Foreign Minister. The Conference had been a formal one lasting only forty minutes, and there was a formal report of the national defense plan. There were no arguments to speak of, and they were both very pleased and relieved that it was over.

Request for Imperial Inquiry

The Premier and the President of the Privy Council

An address to the Emperor

Preparatory Investigation Committee

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The Premier had formerly said to the Emperor: "We desire an Imperial Sanction concerning the Treaty of the London Disarmament Conference as soon as possible in relation to the Privy Council. If possible, we would like to conclude this matter before the summer vacation." Therefore, at this time, he proceeded to Hayama and requested a personal interview. He said: "As previously mentioned, I desired to request an Imperial Sanction concerning the Privy Council before the start of the summer vacation. However it was necessary to wait for the matter to be concluded by the military, and action had to be postponed. Now that the whole matter has been happily concluded, although the summer vacation has started at this time, I have come to request an Imperial Sanction during these hot days." He reported this first, and then made the formal request for Imperial Sanction.

I met the Premier at his official residence as soon as he returned from Hayama, and listened to the above details. The Premier visited the President of the Privy Council at his private residence and stated that he would like this matter to be deliberated upon as soon as possible. It was also the wish of the President of the Privy Council to investigate this as soon as possible, and the matter was completely left in the hands of the Privy Council.

I went to Gotemba early the next morning and reported formally that this matter had been left in the hands of the Privy Council. The Prince seemed very happy, and said: "This is a very happy occasion for our country. Please extend my regards to the Premier and Cabinet members." I returned with this message. The ordinary Cabinet meeting

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was held on the 25th at 10:30 a.m. The Premier presented the message in reply to the Imperial message concerning the report of the conference of War Councillors which he submitted to the Emperor on the 23rd, and withdrew from his presence. In the afternoon the Premier seemed to have gone to his villa in Kamakura.

In the Privy Council, since there was to be an Imperial Inquiry directed to the Privy Council concerning this Treaty proposal, and since this was an exceedingly important proposal, the Government desired a conference during the summer months. Therefore the first preparatory deliberation conference, which was to be held under the chairmanship of Chief Secretary of the Privy Council NIKAMI, was held at his office on the 26th, at 9:00 a.m. I heard the details from European-American Bureau Chief HOTTA. He said: "As usual, Chief Privy Council Secretary NIKAMI investigated the contents of this Treaty proposal in the minutest detail. It cannot be helped, since it is his nature; but I wonder why he finds it necessary to go into such detail? It's very funny."

The Naval Conference and Prince Saionji

Chapter 7

Privy Council Maneuvers

Translated by Lieut. Taichi L. Nishihara

The President of the Privy Council pays his respects at Hayama --- Rumors --- The demand of the President of the Privy Council for forwarding the reply to the Throne --- The questions of Councillor OKADA --- The mistranslation of the Treaty --- The opinions of the Prince on the Privy Council --- The opinions of Professor MINOBE --- Liaison with the War Minister

It was reported that the President of the Privy Council had paid his respects at Hayama on the morning of the 28th of July, and had announced the program for the investigation of the Treaty. He also had dinner with His Majesty and returned after a long audience. Because of this, the newspapers began to write this up in a way which envisaged its great importance. On the following day, the Grand Chamberlain and the Imperial Household Minister accompanied the Emperor on his return to Tokyo from Nasu for the anniversary of the demise of Emperor MEIJI, and I went to the Palace to inquire secretly into a matter mentioned above.

I learned that it was the usual thing for a high official paying his respects to the Emperor during the summer months to be invited to take a meal with the Emperor, if it was convenient to the Emperor. Recently there was the instance of the Premier and other Cabinet members doing the same. The visit of the President of the Privy Council was a mere pay-

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ment of respects to the Emperor. Moreover, the Emperor had gone to the seashore to collect some things and he was more than an hour late in returning. The President of the Privy Council had accordingly waited, and the hour for the dinner was quite late.

There was no import behind this and it was a simple matter of paying his respects. However, Chief Secretary NIKAMI had announced to newspaper reporters in Tokyo: "The visit of the President of the Privy Council to Hayama today was strictly confidential." The story that he had gone to report a matter of great importance in secrecy had already been given to the press. It became very clear that NIKAMI had been spreading the rumor that there had been some incident of great importance, although it was only a meaningless audience with the Emperor.

On August 4th, the President of the Privy Council visited the Premier and said: "Please forward a copy of the Supreme War Council's reply to the Throne for use as reference material for the investigation." The Premier had replied: "I understand that the reply is in the hands of the Emperor. There may be a copy within the Naval General Staff Headquarters or the Supreme War Council, but there is none in the Government's hands. Therefore, there is no way of submitting a copy."

The President of the Privy Council then asked: "How would it be if the report were requested of the Navy Minister according to Article VII of the Cabinet Regulations? Moreover, how about keeping it in the possession of the Government? I would like to

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ask you to submit that to the Privy Council."

The Premier then said: "Do you mean to interfere with the Government? Whether or not to request the report from the Navy Minister is my business and it is not for the Privy Council to interfere." The President of the Privy Council replied, rather dismayed: "I intend nothing in the nature of interference. I am just mentioning that there are such methods merely for reference's sake."

The Premier said: "The nature of the problem is such that the report cannot be requested and there is no need for it. This is because special perusal has been granted by the Emperor. I cannot submit it to you." The Premier continued: "Regardless of this, I desire that an investigation committee be organized immediately. I don't think that there will be any difficulties in the investigation if the Navy Minister should give an explanation concerning national defense. However, if you wish to be granted perusal, then it would be well to consider this. I cannot tell you the results because it is a matter having connections with the Imperial Court."

The President of the Privy Council said: "If I am to be granted perusal, that will not meet the need of reference material for the investigation. In other words, if I am to confine this knowledge to myself and not discuss it with others, it will not meet our needs. Therefore, let us leave matters as they are. However, I believe that it will make the investigation quite difficult." With this remark, the President of the Privy Council returned home.

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The press was vigorously stating this and that according to its fancy, but the Premier immediately summoned the Railways Minister and the Navy Minister and conferred with them. Since only the Premier had been granted perusal and the other members of the Cabinet had not been shown any copies, disregarding the matter of perusal being granted to the President of the Privy Council, I don't think that it is possible to have a copy circulated in the Investigation Committee of the Privy Council. The Naval General Staff Headquarters and the Navy Ministry have united and it seems as if both the Navy Minister and the Chief of the Naval General Staff are in concert with the Government and are determined to oppose the Privy Council.

On August 8th, the President of the Privy Council secretly visited the Premier. He said to the Premier: "I have met you twice previously but I believe that we have spoken formally on these two occasions. I want to speak with you informally today. I will not present any argument but please forward the reply to the Throne to the Privy Council. I would like to have it done with the good will of the administration and without argument." The Premier replied: "I spoke to you previously after giving the matter deep consideration and I cannot do anything more. I would like to have the Investigation Committee organized as soon as possible." The President of the Privy Council then said: "I have heard that there is disunity between Minister TAKARABE and the military. Because of this, I want more than ever to have a glance

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at the reply to the Throne."

The Premier, then said: "There is no such thing as a difference of opinion. First of all, if you understand that the reply to the Throne was made unanimously, then that fact will be clear." To this, the President of the Privy Council said: "Would it not be better for the Government if the reply to the Throne were shown?" The Premier replied: "I am not saying anything as to the advantages or disadvantages of the result. In other words, I am just using logic and I cannot say anything beyond that." They parted with this, but according to the story of the Premier: "The President of the Privy Council said: 'Please submit copies of the Imperial inquiry of the Supreme War Council and of the reply to the Throne.'"

I made a report on these matters to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Imperial Household Minister and the Grand Chamberlain and also to the Prince. This was because there had been caution on this point from the Prince.

There were various rumors in the meantime. All propaganda in the nature of slander of the Government seems to have originated from Chief Secretary NIKAMI. For instance he said that the Treaty concluded by the Government, that is, by the Foreign Ministry, had a great many errors and that this had delayed the investigation and that they had to be corrected. He had also said that the reason the Government would not permit the investigation of the reply to the Throne was that there were some weak points, and that if this fact were investigated it would surely cause the overthrow of the

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Government.

The Foreign Ministry considers that such propaganda will be quite troublesome, and because it was said that there had been mistranslations in the Treaty, they brought this matter up at the meeting of the Preparatory Investigation Committee and announced that the so-called mistranslations were such as the use of the term 'sun system' in an age where the 'meter system' was being used; that the term 'soi' was an idiomatic term which occurred in Yedo literature and that the term 'sai' should be used in legal matters. At any rate, it was announced to the press that the errors were all very trivial.

Just about that time the Privy Council was convened in regard to the World Court problem. When the session was completed, Privy Councillor OKADA arose and demanded a statement. The President of the Privy Council said: "This session has been adjourned and it would be troublesome to deal with that now. How about bringing it up at the next round-table conference?" Councillor OKADA replied: "Any place will be suitable." ble."

At the round-table conference, OKADA said to the President of the Privy Council: "There is something puzzling me greatly. The proposal for the Imperial inquiry on the Disarmament Treaty was presented to the Privy Council on July 24th. Even today, after 15 or 16 days, that is, after more than half month has passed, there has been no announcement or circular presented to us as to whether it was an Imperial inquiry on substance or what it was. In such an

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important and grave matter, it is desirable that it be presented to the Council as soon as possible. Just what have you been doing until now? According to the press, the Privy Council has stiffened or it has softened; the Government is prepared to put up a struggle; and everything is all mixed up. It appears that there are two or three other men besides the President of the Privy Council who are negotiating with the Government, according to the press. However, the Chairman of the Investigation Committee and the other members have not been appointed as yet and the public is speculating on this. The press is writing this matter up, but it is vague to us. Why is everything so slow in coming to us?"

The President of the Privy Council replied in a perplexed manner: "According to the practices of the Privy Council, various investigations are being carried out. A great amount of time has been taken because there were corrections to be made of the errors which appeared in the proposals of the Government." Councillor OKADA then asked whether the Treaty terms of the Government as presented to the Emperor had been drafted yet, and the reply was that they had been drafted.

Councillor OKADA then said: "The reason for the errors and mistranslations of the officials of the Foreign Ministry is that they are lacking in seriousness. It is exceedingly regrettable that there have been so many among the officials recently who have lacked seriousness. We must have them become more determined."

Then Foreign Minister SHIDEMURA said: "As far as I am concerned, there have been no mistranslations in the

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treaty. The press has claimed that because of the mis-translation of the Foreign Ministry everything has been delayed. It is only proper that the officials have become angered. Just where are these errors and mis-translations? Because the originals were photostated, there may have been omission of commas and periods or like trivia, but there have been no other mistranslations. Who has been saying such things?" This matter was attacked by the Foreign Minister in such a way that Chief Secretary NIKAMI remained silent.

As a retaliatory measure to the questions of Foreign Minister SHIDEMARA, the evening editions of the newspapers conspicuously printed such things as: "The exhortation of Councillor OKADA to the Foreign Minister," or: "The Accusations of Councillor OKADA against the Attitude of the Government as Directed at the Foreign Minister." Such things as the "stiffening of the Privy Council" were also published and they were spreading rumors so that it appeared as if Foreign Minister SHIDEMARA had been completely shattered by Councillor OKADA. This was the retaliation of the Chief Secretary of the Privy Council against the Foreign Minister.

Finally, on the 11th, the Chairman and the committee members were decided upon. The Chairman was to be Count ITO and there were no representatives from among the diplomats or lawyers. The group was composed of skilled financiers. There was quite a number of people who said: "Because of the fact that the replacement program will not go well in the present financial crisis, in view of the connection between lightening . . .

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the burden of the people and the Treaty, they are probably going to embarrass the Government by aiming at financial implications."

We had thought that such men as Dr. TOMII and Councillor ISHII would be included on the committee, but they were excluded, and it seemed as if the committee had been constituted of men who would be unfriendly to the Government. Therefore there were people who said that they had come prepared for a head-on collision.

I went to Gotemba and made a general report on the situation to the Prince, and he said: "I would like to have the Government follow a reasonable course. If it is not a reasonable one, there will be trouble later. I cannot speak very clearly, but if the Privy Council should oppose the Government on some unreasonable point, it would be permissible for the Premier to use the authority vested in him to dismiss the President and the Vice-President of the Privy Council at the convenience of the Government, and to reply to the Imperial Inquiry with a new President and Vice-President. In any case, the Government must follow a rational course."

It seemed as if the Prince believed that it was a very favorable opportunity to remedy the deep-rooted evil of the Privy Council if the Government were so determined. He seemed to be worried, and said that it would be troublesome if a reasonable settlement were not made. The Prince also suggested that the opinion of scholars must be obtained as reference. I conveyed this caution to the Premier and Railways Minister EGI on my return.

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It was observed that the general anticipation was that the final decision would be made in the Investigation Committee, and that they might request the reply to the Throne. However, since the Prince had asked me to obtain the views of scholars on this matter, I went to visit Professor MINOBE at Chigasaki.

I asked the Professor if it was proper for the Privy Council to request that the reply to the Throne be turned in. The Professor said: "It will be unavoidable if it is essential to the investigation. However, the Privy Council is in error when they say things about Article VII of the Cabinet Regulations. The reply to the Throne in question is an announcement to obtain the Imperial Sanction of the national defense program and is entirely different from the reply to the Throne of the Supreme War Council. In case that the Privy Council should say that the Government is making no effort to introduce the reply to the Throne, and that the investigation is impossible without it, it would be permissible for the Government to take resolute steps along the lines of negligence of duty or refusal of duty.

"Because an Imperial Inquiry is not a requisite for an Imperial Sanction, it would be permissible for an Imperial Sanction to be granted without an Imperial Inquiry. An example of this was the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Premier KATSURA, believing that the matter necessitated absolute secrecy, petitioned the Emperor for an Imperial Sanction without an Imperial Inquiry of the Privy Council."

Professor MINOBE continued: "I think that it would

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be better if the Government asked the Emperor to have the reply shown to the Privy Council. If the Chief of the Naval General Staff should reply that it would be better if the reply to the Throne were not shown, that would be sufficient. The fact that it appears as if the Government is trying to conceal the matter as much as possible is not advantageous to the administration."

The Prince had previously told me that it would be disadvantageous for the Government if there should be a lack of understanding between the Premier and War Minister UGAKI at such a critical time, and that it would be best for the Premier to dispatch another member of the Cabinet or the Chief Cabinet Secretary and have him explain matters. However, if this is impossible, then I (HARADA) should go in the place of the Premier, and after reporting to him of the recent political situation, aid in the establishment of liaison. How would it be if I went to visit the War Minister at the earliest possible opportunity?

When I had spoken to the Premier of this matter, he said that he wanted it so. Therefore, on my return from Chigasaki, I visited the War Minister at Gora. However, when I reached there, I learned that he was out on a stroll and that he would be absent until four or five o'clock. So I used the time to go over Nagao Pass and visited the Prince at Gotemba. I reported the talk with Professor MINOBE and also with the Premier.

Then I returned and talked with the War Minister for about an hour, from 7:00 P.M. on, telling him that I had come in place of the Premier. The War Minister said: "It may be all right not to show the reply to the

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Throne, but since the problem of the replacement program is related to state affairs, I believe that it might be well to show it. However, if you say that it is not to be shown, then that is all right. According to what I have heard about replies to the Throne, the replies of the Chiefs of the General Staffs are quite simple, but I believe that the contents of the reply to the Throne as announced at the Cabinet council was quite complicated. Until now, when there was an Imperial Inquiry of the Supreme War Council as to whether there were any deficiencies in the national defense, all that was required was a simple 'yes' or 'no'. Therefore, it is natural for the Navy Minister and the Chief of the Naval General Staff to make counter-plans against this. It is unprecedented for the Supreme War Council to break in like this and make a reply to the Throne. Because it has learned of the replacement program it seems to have interfered with the affairs of the Government; and it seems that the plan for the Imperial Inquiry and the reply to the Throne have gone too far." The War Minister thanked Premier HAMAGUCHI for sending me, and he sent his regards to the Prince.

I met the Premier on the following morning and I told him of the visit of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal to Prince SAIONJI on the 13th and also of the matter of my visit to War Minister UGAKI. The Premier said: "In the Imperial Inquiry of the Supreme War Council, it would not have been sufficient to have had merely an answer: 'there are', to the question whether there were any deficiencies in the national defense program, so an Imperial Inquiry of a political nature,

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stating that there were deficiencies, but that there were counter-proposals for it, was made. General UGAKI probably does not know about this yet. It was the intention to have the acting War Minister tell him about it, but it appears that this has not been done."

I also informed the Premier that the Prince had said that he was dissatisfied with the attitude of the Government and that it was just like scratching one's toes with the shoes on. The Premier then said: "According to information received up to last night (Aug. 14th), Committee Chairman ITO is of a conciliatory attitude, and it seems that he will not say this and that of the reply to the Throne. Their questions of the Government will be centered on the relationship of the replacement program to national defense and finance, and it is not very clear as to the reply to the Throne."

The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had gone to Gotemba on the 13th, and when I met him that night, he said: "I met the Prince for the first time since his illness and it seems that he is more sound in health than the Prince of before." The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said to me: "I am going to Ikaho from tomorrow and if there is anything for me, please come." I said: "I am very busy now and I would like to have OKABE help me. Please order OKABE not to leave Tokyo."

The change in post of the Parliamentary Vice-Minister of War --- The readjustments of disarmament and Minister UGAKI --- The methods of Count ITO

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On the morning of the 15th, I visited the Premier at his official residence. I mentioned the talks I had had with Professor MINOBE, Prince SAIONJI, and War Minister UGAKI, and I also told him that War Minister UGAKI had warmly thanked the Premier. The Premier said: "I might make some time around the 17th and go to see the War Minister at Hakone." We also discussed the matter of Parliamentary Vice-Minister of War MIZOGUCHI resigning and whether or not Viscount ITO, Jiro-maru would become the new parliamentary vice-minister.

The Premier had said that he would go and visit War Minister UGAKI at Hakone, leaving Fujisawa about eight in the morning of the 17th so I accompanied him as far as Oiso. At that time, I told him: "When I went to visit General UGAKI the other day, it seemed as if he had too much confidence in MIZOGUCHI and I want to mention that to you just for reference's sake." I also mentioned the fact that General UGAKI had said that he would visit Prince SAIONJI in the near future. The Premier then said: "Before it is too late, I want to ask something of you. Since it will be impossible if General UGAKI does not exert his efforts on the readjustment of disarmament, I would like to have the Prince urge General UGAKI to do so."

I detrained at Gotemba and made a report to the Prince. I told the Prince: "The visit of Minister TAWARA with Count ITO was strictly a private one and there was no connection with the Government. The situation within the Privy Council is still the same. The Premier has asked that War Minister UGAKI press the matter of the reorganization of the military system."

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The Prince said: "I understand the matter of Minister UGAKI. Privy Councillor ITO says that he will not touch upon the matter of the reply to the Throne, but there is no telling when the matter of the reply to the Throne will be brought up. It is a common practice of ITO to say that a certain matter will not be brought up, and after that matter has been brought up, he will explain that he is sorry, but that he could do nothing to stop it. Therefore, we must be careful."

The visit of the War Minister by the Premier ---
The Meeting of the Investigation Committee --- The
limitations of the attendants

The first meeting of the Investigation Committee was held at the office of the Privy Council at 1:00 P.M. on the 18th. Only the members of the Privy Council were present, and it appears that the general policies of the investigation were decided upon.

I waited for the return of the Premier in the afternoon of the 19th and met him. The Premier said: "When I visited War Minister UGAKI at Hakone, he was very happy. We discussed the London Treaty and he also said that the reply to the Throne need not be shown to the Privy Council. I was not going to touch upon the subject, but I mentioned the matter of the readjustment of disarmament and it seemed as if it was the intention of the War Minister to press the matter strongly." I returned after conveying two or three of the cautions of the Prince.

According to the announcements of that day, the

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meeting of the Investigation Committee was opened on the 23rd, the three Ministers (Premier, Foreign and Navy Ministers) were nominated, and the number of the attendants from the Government was limited. I thought that this was a sort of mischievous act and I went to visit Privy Councillor MIZUMACHI at his private residence on the morning of the 19th to inquire about it.

Privy Councillor MIZUMACHI said: "From the standpoint of my position, I cannot say anything which is confidential. However, I shall express my hopes. First of all, it is a natural conclusion that an Imperial Sanction will be petitioned for in reply to the Imperial Inquiry on this Treaty. However, I believe that some undesirable developments will be certain to occur. First of all, the point on which the Privy Council will present its questions will be the disregard of the Naval General Staff Headquarters by Premier HAMAGUCHI at the time of the telegraphic instructions. According to the reply, the problem of the powers of the supreme command will arise. Secondly, the matter of the disunity among the military will come up. Thirdly, the matter of the powers of the supreme command. Fourthly, there will be a demand for an explanation of the contents of the reply to the Throne, especially on matters related to affairs of state. Fifthly, the matter of the supplement for the deficiencies in military strength, that is, of the financial problem.

"The Government is leaving out complaints, and if there are any shortcomings in their honest dealings, leaving out these minor complaints, it would be advisable for the Government to admit that, regrettable as it

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is, there have been mistakes. At any rate, most of the members of the Privy Council are men who are leading the nation in a sincere manner, and because they are men of competence, I want the Government to conduct itself in a careful manner.

"Men such as Privy Councillor KANEKO have many friends in the United States. After reading the speeches of the Foreign Minister and others, they have said: 'Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA has said that a hasty ratification of the London Treaty should be desired from the standpoint of the promotion of international goodwill, and also to show that Japan is sincere in promoting peace. However, the reason why the United States desires ratification by November is not to foster international goodwill, etc., but rather that one-third of the members of the United States Senate may change in November and that ratification is desired before that time. Neither the United States nor Britain is advocating any such thing as international goodwill. It is a very absurd thing for Japan alone to think so honestly. Should we do away with the Foreign Minister?'"

I left the residence of Councillor MIZUMACHI and met the Foreign Minister at the Foreign Ministry. When I had talked on the foregoing matter, the Foreign Minister said: "I have never said anything such as that ratification should be hastened for the promotion of international goodwill. They must have mistaken me for someone else."

The proposal that the conference be limited to the three Ministers, according to the story of MIZUMACHI,

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was his own. MIZUMACHI said: "It is inexcusable that news of the session of the Privy Council has leaked out. This was because there were too many persons present, and it was decided that vice-ministers, section chiefs, chief secretaries and unnecessary state ministers be excluded, and admission was limited to just the essential ministers." The ultimate objective was to combat against the leaking out of confidential matters.

MIZUMACHI had also said: "I conferred with the Chief Secretary of the Privy Council as to the advisability of the announcement of this fact by ITO, the Chairman of the Committee, or myself. At any rate, it was decided after conferring with Chief Secretary NIKAMI." When I heard this, I immediately thought that the source of the leak of confidential matters was the Chief Secretary, and I cautioned MIZUMACHI about this.

Although it seemed a very mischievous thing to admit only the three Ministers to the session, I learned that it was decided upon with sincere motives. Of course, the Councillor had said that there would be no harm in the vice-ministers and the section chiefs being in the next room and coming out into the session whenever necessary.

On this matter, Privy Councillor KUBOTA had said: "It is the duty of the Privy Council to control the general aspects of administration and it is not characteristic of the Privy Council to split hairs, so isn't this enough?"

The limitation on the number of attendants at the meeting of the Investigation Committee and the Prince --

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The questions of Councillors KANEKO and KAWAI — The rumors of the purchase of the Chinese Eastern Railway

I went to Gotemba on the morning of the 19th to report on the situation in the Investigation Committee on the 18th. The Prince said: "They may believe that there is some authority whereby they can limit the number of state ministers at a session of the Investigation Committee, but if there should be a request from a state minister for an audience with the Emperor, the Emperor cannot reject it. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that a state minister can attend any session of the Privy Council and voice his opinions on any matter. It is a very regrettable thing that this deep-rooted evil has arrived at such a point."

On my return, I stopped at the villa of Professor MINOBE at Chigasaki and asked the opinions of the Professor on matters which would serve as reference. I returned to Tokyo and conveyed the words of the Prince to the Premier.

The session of the Investigation Committee on the 23rd ended with the explanations of the three Ministers, and the third session of the Investigation Committee began on the 26th. First of all, there were the questions of Count KANEKO on the progress of foreign policy. They included such things as the fact that when the delegate had arrived in the United States, he had vigorously publicized the claim for '70 per cent'. He also mentioned the discussions on whether this was right or wrong, the results of the 'free conversations' between MATSUDAIRA and REED, the

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conversations between SAITO and CRAIGIE, the reasons for the telegraphic instructions, and the reason why Delegate TAKARABE agreed to the telegraphic instructions.

Following this, Privy Councillor KAWAI carried on something like a monologue. He said: "Do you believe that it was better for Navy Minister TAKARABE to have gone to London as the delegate plenipotentiary, or for him to have remained behind as the Navy Minister? Is it your intention to go again in such circumstances?" The Navy Minister replied: "It is very difficult to reply to such questions, and no matter how I replied, it would seem as if I were praising myself. Therefore, I cannot reply."

Count KANEKO again rose and said to the Foreign Minister: "We have been granted summer vacations by the Emperor, but during this time, the Government has presented a proposal for ratification. Why be in such a hurry?" Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA had said somewhere that the Imperial Sanction was being hurried because it was desired that Japan show a desire to promote international goodwill, and a love of peace. The United States had a good domestic reason for wanting this ratification: Senatorial elections were approaching. It was clearly evident that Count KANEKO asked this question with the inference that it was foolish for Japan alone to undertake the promotion of international goodwill so honestly, as he had contended before. Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA knew this well and simply replied: "There is no political reason for it, but the Government desired haste from the

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standpoint of convenience."

The Premier thought that if matters were prolonged by this by-play, it would be troublesome, so he stood up and said: "I am in complete agreement with the opinions of the Foreign Minister on this matter, and furthermore, from the standpoint of domestic administration, it is time for the formulation of the budget. Therefore, although it is not the time to designate a time limit, we desire ratification as soon as possible."

Count KANEKO said: "What the Foreign Minister has said and what the Premier has said are contradictory." Count KANEKO was not satisfied, but the Chairman of the Committee, Count ITO intervened and said: "The statements of the Government are not contradictory. That should be sufficient for this matter." The Chairman of the Committee is also reported to have said: "However, I shall defer consideration of the matter of the formulation of the budget, etc., that the Premier mentioned."

The session of the 26th ended, and the fourth session of the Investigation Committee convened on the 28th. There was nothing very important, and it ended after questions had been addressed to the Foreign and Navy Ministers. It seems that there is no telling how the atmosphere around the Privy Council will develop. In the meantime another problem reared its head. Statements had appeared in the papers that the United States was to purchase the Chinese Eastern Railway. The Privy Council is maneuvering to get the facts on this report as well as on the Treaty. Although I have mentioned the Privy Council, it is acting at the instigation of

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Chief Secretary NIKAMI. It seems as if it wants to bring this matter up as an infringement upon Japan's supremacy in Manchukuo by the United States. Therefore, I believe that the fact that the Chief Secretary went to ascertain the facts from the Chief of the American-European Section as soon as this story appeared in the papers was not without special significance.

I went to Gotemba on the 27th (Probably an error in date) and reported on the situation in the Privy Council on the 28th.

An explanation of the details at the time of the issuance of the telegraphic instructions --- The propaganda of the Chief Secretary --- Questions in regard to the powers of the supreme command

At the session of the Privy Council on the 1st, Councillor KAWAI questioned in detail regarding the agreement of Navy Minister TAKARABE to the telegraphic instructions. Councillor ARAI also intervened and asked various questions in regard to the negotiations of the Naval General Staff Headquarters at the time of the telegraphic instructions. To this, the Premier very cordially answered: "I am convinced that there were no objections on the part of the Chief of the Naval General Staff." Finally, Chairman ITO said: "What the general public says and what the Premier has said are quite different, and I believe that there will be some more questions on this matter in the future."

I went to Gotemba on the morning of the 2nd and made a report on these developments. On my return, I

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stopped over at Kozu and visited War Minister UGAKI. The Prince was confined with a cold and it was said that he would not meet anyone for a while. The Prince said: "However, I have some business with the Imperial Household Minister and I must see him on the 5th. Do not forget about this."

The press was playing up the bad relationship between the Cabinet and the Privy Council and was spreading a great deal of propaganda. This was all the deliberate propaganda of Chief Secretary NIKAMI. Councillor ITO had said at the Privy Council: "The proceedings of the present session of the Privy Council have not leaked out this time, which is fortunate. What appears in the papers is all fabricated, and the newspapermen are stupid people. The newspapermen were told: 'It is very annoying that the real situation within the Privy Council has been found out.' When the newspapermen were told this, they were very proud. They are really stupid people."

Just who was responsible for these lies? The main one was the Chief Secretary of the Privy Council and the lies were part of his deliberate propaganda.

On the 3rd, the problem of the powers of the supreme command was made the central point of attack. Councillors HIRAI, KAWAI, and KANEKO stood up in turn and said such things as: "During the past days, the Premier has said that there was no opposition from the Chief of the Naval General Staff on the telegraphic instructions, but that is very doubtful." They brought out various materials and tried to disprove the Premier's statement. Their materials were drawn

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from those put out by former Chief of the Naval General Staff KATO, and former Vice-Chief of the Naval General Staff SUETSUGU, which the groups of the First and Second Reserves such as the Yoyokai and (?) -Kai had produced. It was very favorable to us and there were many points which differed from the facts.

The following questions were also asked: "What is the reason behind giving prominence to Admiral OKADA?"; "What is the reason behind the presenting of the telegraphic instructions to the Navy Vice-Minister by acting Navy Minister HAMAGUCHI instead of to the Chief of the Naval General Staff?"; and "How about bringing the former Chief of the Naval General Staff and the Premier face to face?"

Of course, the foregoing is absolutely confidential and it has not been told to the public. The Government was strongly determined to oppose the actions of the Privy Council on this matter. I met the Premier on the afternoon of the 3rd of September and I said: "I am going to Gotemba early in the morning of the 4th." The Premier asked that I delay my departure until about noon. It seemed as if there was something on which he was going to make a definite decision. I visited the Imperial Household Minister at his private residence late that night and reported the general situation in the Privy Council that day.

The Naval Conference and Prince Saionji

Chapter 8

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Translated by Mr. Haruo Kawashima

The Government's Decision

The Foreign Minister's Illness

The Premier's Message

The Old Prince's Approval

Questions in regard to Contents of the Treaty

The Railway Minister's Visit to the Old Prince

Early on the morning of the 4th, I called on Railway Minister EGI at his private residence and talked with him about the Privy Council. The Government has evidently made an absolute decision, and the Railway Minister showed me the Imperial Order for regulation of the procedure of the Privy Council and said: "The tendency toward speech and conduct that are clearly in violation of Sections I and III is something that simply cannot be permitted to continue." And he further stated to me: "I think that the Premier will meet you about 10:30. You had better ask him about the time and go." So about 10:00 o'clock I phoned and asked for an appointment with the Premier, at which time he said: "Come about 10:30." After stopping over at the Foreign Ministry I then went to the Premier's place.

At the Foreign Ministry I heard that Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA had suddenly contracted severe stomach pains and was unable to come to work. Upon hearing this I was very worried that he might have been taken down with appendicitis. At 10:30 I met the Premier. The Premier said: "I explained to the Privy Council that I had sent

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instructions (to Japanese Envoys to the London Disarmament Conference to sign the Treaty) because after I had negotiated with the Acting Navy Minister and the Chief of the Naval General Staff, I came to the firm conclusion that the Naval General Staff had expressed its strong determination on this issue as follows: Although from the technical standpoint of (prevailing) naval strategy, the amount of Naval armaments which would be permitted to Japan under the Treaty would be insufficient (for national defense), should the Government be constrained to limit Japan's armament with due consideration to the international political situation, the Naval General Staff would do its best to effectuate the national defense by fundamentally altering the Navy's national defense strategy compatibly with the limited amount of Naval armament. However, all members of the investigation committee were in possession of plentiful material, and were not of a mind to accept my explanation. About 4:00 o'clock Chairman of the Committee ITO said:

"What you (Premier) say and the material we have on hand differ widely. In order to remove this doubt, we would like to have the presence of the former Chief of the Naval General Staff requested through the Navy Minister in order that explanations may be obtained. The Privy Council requests that the Government accept this request. So saying, the Chairman of the committee quoted five or six main points of the material he had on hand. The points of arguments that Count ITO brought forth were individual facts that did not point to any specific time nor did they have any connections with each other. He stated facts that were favorable only to the former

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Chief of the Naval General Staff. If correct statements of facts had been interwoven, the statement would have been the same as the one I had made. In this case I thought that it would not be advisable to refute his statements immediately, so I said: "I'll think it over first." But naturally I was determined to refuse this proposal."

Of course the Premier will come back, discuss the proposals with other Cabinet members, and refuse to comply. This morning, in documentary form, without giving any reason whatever, he merely stated that it would be difficult to acquiesce in the proposals. Moreover it was the Premier's desire that I report these circumstances in full to the Prince. Furthermore, having met with this refusal of its request, there is no telling what steps the Privy Council will take. In any case the Government is definitely determined to take positive steps, therefore we would like to have the approval of the Prince. I would like you to relay this to the Prince."

I took the 11:40 train for Atami and getting off at Odawara went by automobile over the Hakone (mountains) to Gotemba. After I reported to the Prince in accordance with the Premier's request, and also told him of conditions in general, the Prince quietly said: "I thank you for the Premier's message. I understand all you have said and am of the same mind. If it's plan is rationed, I desire that the government take drastic measures. And if it is in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, no matter whether there are precedents or not, there is no necessity to hold back or be fearful. I would like you to tell the Premier to maintain a

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decisive attitude." He also said: "If there are any additions that you think would be suitable, I leave them to you. You know my opinions in regard to everything, so I would like you to act accordingly."

After this conversation, I immediately took leave and again went by automobile over Hakone to Odawara and thence reached Shimbashi at 5:00. I immediately went to see the Premier, and upon hearing of the talk that I had with the Prince, he seemed to be very much relieved and said: "I thank you very much. With this I am greatly relieved."

When I was about to leave Gotemba, the Prince said: "I want you to tell the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Minister of the Imperial Household and the Grand Chamberlain everything in regard to these circumstances and what I have replied to the Premier. I want you to tell the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal as early as possible, else it will be distressing."

Therefore, after leaving the official residence of the Premier, I immediately went to talk with the Minister of the Imperial Household. As the Minister of the Imperial Household the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal were at the Detached Palace in Nasu, I had OKADA go early the next morning to report to them on what had been said by the Prince. On the other hand, after determining that the Grand Chamberlain was returning to Tokyo that night, I went and gave him a minute report the following morning.

I was wondering how the September 5th meeting of the Privy Council was going to turn out. First of all, Committee Chairman ITO read out the Government's reply

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to the Councillors, after which he said: "The Councillors are not to question the reasons for the Government's refusal. Moreover I do not want the Premier to explain the reason. In order to avoid complicating circumstances we must all try not to ask about the reasons or to speak about them." Councillor KIMAI attempted to ask a question but Chairman ITO intervened and finally got him to retract his question. Councillor KINEKO raised a question in regard to the footnotes to Article 23 of the Treaty. Councillor KIMAKAWA raised a question as to whether or not there was a possibility of funds for the supplementary plan and of the reduction of taxes.

Councillor KIMAI raised the point that, after 1936 Japan's ratio with America would drop considerably, and wanted to know what was to be done about it. That is, he started to question upon the actual terms of the Treaty, and after approximately two hours, that day's session was completed without mishap.

The Premier said that the Privy Council had made a volte-face from its attitude of the day before yesterday but the Government couldn't in spite of this fact, relax its cautious attitude toward it.

I left on the morning of the 6th, reached Gotemba in the afternoon, and made a report to the Prince. Whereupon the Prince said: "Points about tax reduction and such matters should be outside the scope of inquiries. Why doesn't the President stop such inquiries? They are thinking along the same lines as the House of Peers." And he continued: "Anyway, speak to War Minister UGAKI about that talk."

That night I stayed over at Oiso, and the following

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morning, that is Sunday morning, I called on the War Minister at Kozu. After making a report on conditions in general, I took leave.

On Sunday morning, the Railway Minister, combining a social call with the business of making a report on general trends, called on the Prince at Gotemba. By mere coincidence I met the Minister on the train (going back to Tokyo), and he said: "The Prince is really young. He is looking healthy." And so saying he (Railway Minister) expressed extreme pleasure, which in a way seemed to me to have a bolstering effect on the Government.

Questions in regard to the Supplementary Plan and its Amount.

Questions as to Postponement or Disapproval.

Newspaper/Propaganda.

Count ITO's Mitigation attitude.

The newspapers played up the Privy Council session of the 8th as though it came virtually to the breaking point, but in actuality it was very calm. There was no particular reason why I should go to Gotemba, so I made a phone call. At the Privy Council session on the 10th, Councillor ARAI said: "It is said that there is a weakness in the national defense but what in the world is going to be done about the supplementary plan. Consider the general outline of costs; can the burden be reduced? And will not the surplus funds be used up completely. I would like to hear roughly the amount (that is going to be used toward this supplementary plan.) First of all it does not stand to reason that the amount has been fixed. In view of this it cannot be discussed freely."

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In answer to this the Premier replied: "There is no way of determining the amount until the budget has been arranged." To which Councillor ARAI stated: "If such be the case we had better postpone the discussion and wait until the time the budget can be arranged." To this the Premier said: "Such a delay is absolutely impossible. There is no set law on the time limit for settling this problem, but there is a reasonable time limit." Councillor ARAI then said: "I would like to hear the opinions of both the Naval General Staff and the Navy Ministry." To which the Navy Minister replied: "You are well aware that it is being discussed at present and that there is also the relationship with the Finance Ministry to be considered, so it is not possible to fulfill your desire."

The Premier said: "Mr. ARAI should be aware of such circumstances from previous experience but ---." Councillor ARAI interrupted, and said: "No, I insist upon hearing the opinions of both the Staff and the Ministry." So saying ARAI was immovable in his request. To this the Navy Minister said: "I am sorry but your request cannot be complied with. I will take the responsibility of seeing that the supplementary plan is worked out within the limits of the surplus fund, so kindly rest assured."

I waited until the Council meeting was over and then met the Premier. The Premier said: "The general atmosphere is as you have seen, and I feel that the real situation is more or less beginning to show. Whatever the case may be the Government cannot comply with the impossible. I do not know how it (the Privy Council) will react, but everything depends upon how it proceeds; come forth if

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necessary, the Government will take drastic measures."

I spoke of the aforementioned situation to the Minister of the Imperial Household and the Grand Chamberlain, and told OKABE to tell the Lord keeper of the Privy Seal the same things. I was intending to leave for Gotemba late that night but the Railway Minister said that he wanted to see me about 11 o'clock, so I went to his private residence. The Railway Minister said: "The Privy Council's attitude towards this supplementary plan shows that it has no accurate data and furthermore that it does not know where the funds are coming from. But the Government's plans are not yet fixed, so it cannot be said whether or not the Treaty is acceptable. Having no basis for decision it (Privy Council) would like to have discussions postponed until the Government's plans are fixed. In case of disapproval of postponement, will it not mean a trend toward rejection? I think they mean that discussion should be postponed until the Government's plans are fixed but the Government will be responsible for seeing that the supplementary plan is established and also that there is a reduction of taxes. If the Privy Council does not trust the Government there is nothing to do but wait until the Diet Session. And if it says that it wants to suspend the discussion, then the Government will say it must be continued; if they further persist then a time limit will be requested. Then it will be just another case of Privy Council versus Government. This next meeting holds quite a number of problems."

On the morning of the 11th, I went to Gotemba and reported the aforementioned to the Prince. To which the

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Prince said: "This time the Government is right and must adhere its determination to take drastic measures." That day I was in a hurry so I crossed Hakone to Odawara and returned to Tokyo. The newspapers were alleging that the meeting of the 12th reached a breaking point. And such men as Chief Secretary to the Cabinet FUTAGAMI were playing up the Privy Council's "hard-headedness" to the newspapers, which made lively reading.

At the meeting on the 12th, Councillor KANEKO said: "Relations between Japan and the U.S. are very peaceful. And it is said that the United States is a nation that is brimming over with a spirit of love for peace, but it is a nation that must be watched. In view of this it is necessary that Japan be quite well prepared."

Then Councillor KUBOTA said: "I was relieved to hear that the army was of a united opinion in regard to the question of the powers of the supreme command. First of all, the historical advance of our Empire has been based upon the Army and Navy, and since the founding of the Empire it can be said that armaments have been a national necessity. For this reason, the strengthening of national defense means the steady development of the nation, so this cannot be left unprovided for."

Councillor KIMURA said: "I would like to know whether the soldier shortage was looked upon lightly or gravely at the Supreme War Council Conference." So saying he seemed really to want to hear something, but Chairman ITO intervened and said: "Councillor KIMURA, you don't want to hear anything more," and did not let the question stand. The anticipated fiery session of the 12th turned out to be one without the least commotion. On account of

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the strong attitude of the Government the Privy Council probably changed its attitude to that of calm discussion. Thus, the newspapers of the following morning seem to have felt let down.

Chairman ITO's proposed answer to the Throne regarding the supplementary plan.

The Premier's Rebuff.

The Reason for a speedy Ratification.

The Railway Minister's Visit to Gotemba

The Privy Council's Sudden Change.

Petitioning the Emperor for an Unconditional Ratification.

At the meeting of the Privy Council Committee on the 15th all members of the investigating committee were asked whether they had any questions they desired to put to the Government. But there did not seem to be any questions in particular. And after determining there were absolutely no questions, Chairman ITO stood up and stated:

"In behalf of the investigating committee, I would like to question the Government, first, in regard to the powers of the supreme command. This question has been at a standstill, and in direct contrast with the Government's reply at the Diet Session, it now states to the investigating committee that it now needs the consent of the Chief of the Naval General Staff (before making a reply). So we shall call for an end to the discussion of this question at this point. The second point is that, on April 2nd, former Chief of the Naval General Staff sent a telegram to the Chief Administrator of Finances

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in London, the contents of which are still unclarified. But this question, too shall be regarded as closed. The third point is that the investigating committee has asked the Government to supply it with materials regarding the supplementary plan but the Government has refused to do so, thus preventing the investigating committee from carrying out its responsibilities. The fourth point is that the supplementary plan must have been given to the Emperor, and unless this reply is on hand, the supplementary plan cannot be analyzed. Therefore the investigating committee once again requests the Government to furnish it with the reply given to the Emperor. In regard to these points we are not putting a strong request for immediate replies. I think it will be all right to receive the replies in documentary form at some future date."

Upon this statement, Premier HAMAGUCHI stood up immediately and said: "Relative to Count ITO's statement in behalf of the investigating committee I will give an immediate reply. First, in regard to the powers of the supreme command, the Government's reply at the Diet Session and that given to the investigating committee are completely different. That is, you stated that the latter was a complete reversal (of that given to the Diet). I cannot agree that this is true. At the Diet it was necessary to use indefinite terms, but here at the Privy Council we are all men of the inner circle so I thought it would be better to explain things in detail. Due to the change of setting, different words were used, but I absolutely cannot approve of your saying that it was a complete reversal. In regard to your second point, about not being

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provided with materials, I, as well as the Navy Minister, have earnestly and courteously replied to your queries. And although materials have not been forwarded to you, I trust those explanations to be sufficient to make you to carry on a discussion. I do not believe that it is the duty of the Government to show you the figures of the supplementary plan. However, if it had been completed by this date the Government might have shown them to you for reference, but this, I believe, is not the Government's duty. Further, in regard to the fourth point about the reply to the Emperor, for the sake of clarification I will state that the Navy Minister previously explained it to you in detail so earnestly and courteously that I was afraid that he had touched upon the actual contents thereof. In reply to your request that this reply to the Emperor be shown to you there is absolutely no room for debate. That is, the Government cannot so much as think of handing over the reply to the Emperor; furthermore this document is not in the hands of the Government, let alone the fact that it is not the type of document to be in the hands of the Government."

To this Chairman ITO reflected on the members of the investigating committee by saying: "Did all of you members hear the reply just made by the Premier? That is, the Premier's reply is just as you have heard."

Among the inquiries of the committee members, Councillor Arai's was: "For what reason is a speedy Imperial Sanction needed?"

The Premier stood up and said: "You may perhaps know from reading the daily newspapers that public uneasiness

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is at its height. For the sake of domestic administration it is of the utmost necessity that this question be cleared up at the earliest possible date. It may be that the Privy Council's decision on this question may be the cause of a political change. There are rumors to the effect that, if on account of a political change, there is a change in Government, the restrictions on the export of gold will once again be put into effect. Such rumors are indeed very detrimental. I personally do not have any fears for the existence of the present Government but in thinking of the future of the nation's economic life my feelings are at a low ebb."

In response to this ITO stood up again and said: "Next time, on the 17th, the investigating committee will hold a conference by itself." Premier HAMAGUCHI retorted in a rather sarcastic manner: "It is not necessary for Cabinet members to be present." To which the reply was: "No, their presence is not required." Such as the fore-mentioned was what the Premier said was interchanged when I met him after the meeting. The Premier then said to me: "It would be very dangerous to argue in terms of figures after entering the regular session, so it is necessary to take great care. As a matter of fact, I thought it to be a little early, but that it might be better to give the immediate reply that I did." He continued: "I do not know what attitude the Privy Council is going to take but I intend to oppose it with drastic measures." Therefore I would appreciate your relaying the situation to the Prince."

I immediately reported the particulars to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. And after reporting the same

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also to the Minister of the Imperial Household and the Grand Chamberlain, I returned home about 8 o'clock. Upon my return, OKABE and KONOYE were waiting for me, and they said that Railway Minister EGI desired to go tomorrow, in place of the Premier, and report on current conditions to the Prince. So if I were going to Gotemba they wanted me to phone back to Tokyo to state whether or not this was agreeable to the Prince.

KONOYE was worried, saying: "Do you not think it will be too conspicuous for the Railway Minister to go at this time?" However, I was of the opinion that if it were to make a report on current conditions it would not be cause for worry. Later that evening the Railway Minister, after having attended a banquet for the International Statistics Conference at the Premier's residence, dropped in at my home about 10:30, and talked to KONOYE on various subjects.

The following morning I went to Gotemba and reported in detail the definite attitude of the Government. Then, speaking of Railway Minister EGI's wanting to come, the Prince said: "If it is necessary, it is quite proper that he should come." Upon this reply I immediately phoned Tokyo and said: "He (the Prince) will meet you. He will be waiting for you." It was decided that the Railway Minister would arrive in Gotemba about 4 o'clock. He met and reported to the Prince and returned the same evening (16th).

The 17th was the final day on which only the committee members were to be present to decide (on the supplementary plan). This was the cause of considerable anxiety on my part. The newspapers were playing it up

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by writing: "The Privy Council has taken an attitude of sheer necessity." About 3:30 I phoned Councillor MIZUMACHI from the Foreign Ministry and asked him how things were going. He stated that they had gone quite contrary to expectations, and that the Privy Council suddenly had changed and taken an unbelievable attitude. Also that the meeting had been brought to a close in less than two hours, after deciding unconditionally to submit the plan for Imperial Sanction. Of course, this complete reversal of previous tendencies had a queer effect on all concerned, but I thought it was indeed a very good thing.

Publicity for Remedial Measures.

The Reasons for Count ITO's sudden change (of attitude)

Councillor YAMAKURA's Amusement.

Unconditional Approval.

Asahi's Editorial.

Because the committee's decision on the 17th, contrary to all predictions, newspapers were coming out with various reports and were publicizing it thus: "Chief Secretary FUTAGAMI should not allow the rights of the two main constitutional organs, that is, the right of the Emperor to inquire and of the Government administrative organs to reply, to come into conflict. In such a case it should be the natural responsibility of the Prince to act as mediator. However, either Count YAMAMOTO or Count KIYOURA might act in the capacity of mediator and save the face of the Privy Council, at the same time, probably, quiet down the Government. In this case a mediator will

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have to come forth and make some sort of settlement."

On the one hand, this publicity was designed to alleviate the strain in the Privy Council. On the other hand, it may be assumed to be the propaganda of henchmen of old YAMOTO and old KIYOMURA, availing themselves of this opportunity to lay the foundation for these two men to become elder statesmen after the passing of the old Prince. As a third alternative it may be supposed that people were trying to explain by saying: "The reason for the sudden reversal (in the attitude of the Privy Council) was that the Emperor, in deep solicitude at Nasuno, sent the Grand Chamberlain to Tokyo every time there was a meeting of the investigating committee to inquire of the situation from the Chairman. Owing to this deep solicitude of the Emperor it (Privy Council) was unable to cope with the situation, therefore this was the result." However, there was no foundation for such an explanation, for the Grand Chamberlain was sent only once, that being when the Emperor was at Hayama. And furthermore, that was done upon the suggestion of the Grand Chamberlain himself. After that the Grand Chamberlain retired from Nasuno for four or five days to visit his younger brother, General SUZUKI, who had an operation performed on a boil or something, but at that time the Grand Chamberlain did not meet the Chairman a single time. In order that I might make a minute report, I called on the Chairman two or three times. There were various things being publicised but all were beside the truth.

As a result of the meeting of the 17th, I phoned to Gotemba and merely said: "It has been unconditionally

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ratified." During the morning of the 19th, I met Councillor TOMII and Councillor MIZUMACHI. Upon meeting me Councillor TOMII said: "I was never so mortified as in this present case. I even thought of going to Gotemba and reporting the situation (to the Prince) but thinking that a person of my meagre calibre, even if I were to go, would not be of much assistance, I refrained from going. However, the situation was so complicated that I went to Count ITO's home one hour before the meeting on the 17th and spoke my mind, to which he replied: 'If the situation is as you state, even at the expense of my position I will see that this Treaty is sanctioned unconditionally. That is, I will exert my efforts to see that it is passed.' So saying he (ITO) expressed his decision and with a feeling of relief, I (TOMII) returned." Councillor TOMII continued: "Two or three evil-wishers in the Privy Council are trying to mar the reputation of the Privy Council in the eyes of the public so that faith in them will be destroyed."

In the words of Councillor MIZUMACHI the conditions were: "Such men as Councillor KANEKO believe the powers of the supreme command as set forth in Articles XI and XII of the Constitution, and its relations with the Government, to be ambiguous. Stating that he, having been one of the original drafters of the Constitution, wanted to bring this point to the attention of the Government, he proposed that the Treaty be approved with conditions, but the Chairman said: 'A conditional approval is out of the question.' Furthermore, the Chairman, with great emphasis, summed up the problem saying: 'If this investigating committee postpones the discussion of this

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Treaty the Government will set a time limit and request a discussion of it. And if discussion is impossible the Emperor's Inquiry will have to be returned. If the Treaty is rejected the Government will probably report it to the Throne anyway. Whichever step is taken the result will be to submit the matter for Imperial decision, which will be a vexation to the Emperor. This indeed would be an unpardonable result. However, looking at the trend in the Privy Council, there is no reason to believe that the investigating committee will be of a unanimous opinion on this matter. If the committee decision is rejected at the regular session (of the Privy Council) there will be nothing left but for us to resign. Whatever happens, it will produce a very serious situation. Therefore we must make a complete change of course and vote unconditionally in favor (of the Treaty) in answer to the Emperor's inquiry. Therefore I ask your wholehearted support of a favorable decision.'

"After this oration Councillor YAMAKAWA stood up with a look of doubt on his face and said: 'I am only a chemist. Circumstances pertaining to judicial administration or diplomacy are outside my knowledge. Heretofore I have trusted, and have been guided in my thoughts by our well-versed and esteemed Chairman, Count ITO. But I am now at a complete loss, since he has told us to change our course completely from that which he has been urging us to follow heretofore. I am not in possession of such a brilliant mind that it is possible for me to agree immediately. I would like to have an opportunity to think this over once more.'

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"Councillor DEN and Councillor KURODA tried their best to appease Councillor YAMAKAWA by saying: 'We too are indeed in doubt regarding this Treaty, but it just cannot be helped.' The Chairman bowed his head in deep reverence (to Councillor YAMAKAWA), asking for his approval. To these advances Councillor YAMAKAWA could not remain obstinate very long, and as if in surrender, he raised his voice to a high pitch and shouted 'I approve.' That was indeed a very sorry and pitiable sight to see."

Councillor MIZUMACHI said further, that although this was not the corrected draft of the decision it was in general as follows:

"The supplementary plan shall be developed in cooperation with the military and shall be carried out with the least possible burden to the people. In order to realize the purpose of this Treaty we (or the Privy Council) believe it should be given the Imperial Sanction without reserve."

Of course, additions were to be made to this text at a meeting of the Councillors about the 24th or 25th, after which it would be turned over to the full Council on October 1st. Since the text of the decision was capable of being interpreted as conditional, the Government is holding a number of conferences, presumably to prevent being tricked into thinking that a final decision had been reached.

On the evening of the 19th, after telling the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Grand Chamberlain, and the Minister of the Imperial Household the particulars, I went to Gotemba and reported them to the Prince. The

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Prince was very pleased that things had turned out in this way.

The Seiyukai had held a general meeting on the 16th and in anticipation of the Privy Council debate of the 17th, the result of which would be the down-fall of the present Cabinet, the members were celebrating happily. However, the result being what it was, the affair turned into a rather a queer situation.

The recent trend of public opinion indicates a desire for as speedy as possible ratification of the Treaty. Relative to this I am quoting the editorial in the Asahi of the 13th.

Sudden Change of the Privy Council and Seiyukai

When the Privy Council and the Government were on the verge of a head-on clash, for the investigation committee, without previous warning, to return the text of the London Treaty to the Throne for Imperial Sanction, means that congratulations are in order for actions which are a step toward world peace and the upholding of our constitutional government. There should be no reason for the regular session of the Privy Council to disregard the report of the investigating committee and disapprove their decision, and naturally there is no tendency toward such action. The Government must understand the spirit of the London Naval Disarmament Conference and, in regard to the London Treaty, retain the real objective whereby overemphasis will not be placed upon military budgets, the nation's resources will not be overtaxed and the burden of the people will be lessened. It is the duty of the present Cabinet to establish constitutional politics in its real meaning and to fight for the stabilization of the livelihood of the citizens. If the Government were not to fight these conventionalisms and deep-rooted evils it would have to fight a second time against the military cliques. Disarmament is an invitation to world peace, and at the strength of the nation. The Seiyukai was under the hallucination that a political change was to take place and was waiting for the guiding light of the Privy Council. Old President INUKAI, who was pushing from the rear, was trying to maintain a triangle with the Privy Council and the 'gunbatsu.' We hope he isn't so foolish as to seek to intimidate the people.

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At the Seiyukai rally on the 16th, the Chief Secretary stated: "In our country not only does the Diet not have the power to deliberate seriously on the contents of the Treaty but the Privy Council is the only organ which in accordance with the Constitution, may seriously deliberate upon a treaty before forwarding it for Imperial sanction. It is the natural responsibility of the Privy Council to conduct a thorough deliberation on the matter." So saying, he (Chief Secretary), forgetting that he himself was a member of the Diet, practically admitted the impotence of the Diet in regard to the discussion of this Treaty. He voiced his favor with great stress toward the rights and powers of the unconstitutional Privy Council but what attitude is he going to take toward the London Treaty, which was discussed and ratified by that Privy Council. It is a good thing that President INUKAI in his speech stated: "The Government's proposal of a supplementary plan, and the expenditures attached thereto, are calculated at their lowest, but even so the amount involved is more than is being expended at present, which means military expansion, from the point of view of finance. Since it is clear that there are not enough surplus funds to guarantee the lessening of the people's burden, the Treaty's proposed ratification has none the less obliterated the true meaning as far as our country is concerned."

How would it be for the Seiyukai to make an about face at this time, just as the investigating committee of the Privy Council did, cut its ties with the Privy Council and "Gunbatsu", and take to heart the lessening

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of the people's burden. How also, would it be for it (Seiyukai) to oppose the supplementary plan, which obliterates the true objective of lessening the people's burden, and not to abide by the wishes of the military clique, which, in terms of finance, involve military expansion. Why should it not change its attitude to attack the present Cabinet, which is upholding this supplementary plan that is contrary to the objective of lessening the people's burden and also to economy in armaments. If it continues to side with the military and to claim that there are weaknesses in the national defense and thus to oppose the London Treaty, it not only will destroy the opportunity to lessen the people's burden through disarmament, but will also not be in line with the so-called program for economy in armaments. However, if by chance the Seiyukai should grasp the political power and remain in control until 1936, then we would like just to take a look ahead to that time when it will be in a position to dispatch plenipotentiary envoys to the Disarmament Conference. It is not just a question of the present, with which to oppose and fluster the political party in control. If that be the case, it will not be possible to sow the seeds of trust in a party which is to carry the destinies of the nation. The Seiyukai's emergency rally held on the 16th may be termed a farce. Whether it was just experiencing a hallucination of a political change, or was just chasing a wild idea is not known. To jump onto the Privy Council bandwagon hurriedly, and to have that bandwagon jump the tracks of constitutional government was not only foolish but ridiculous. If someone

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was responsible for dragging this one political party into this disgraceful farce then that someone should shave his head and ask for the forgiveness of the world and all other parties concerned. This recent matter was certainly a complete loss not only for the Privy Council but for the Seiyukai.

For the Seiyukai to have purposely brought this situation upon itself must be said certainly to have been a miscalculation on its part. This victory (for the present Government) is above the actual potential of Premier HAMAGUCHI. It would have been better for the Seiyukai to try to win the people's confidence by playing the tune of a constitutional party. But for it to uphold the ratification of the London Treaty with the Privy Council, which is the enemy both of the Constitution and public administration, and for it to attack the present Cabinet for not being able to lessen the people's burden, will mean difficulty in initiating a plan whereby the gold embargo will be lifted for the sake of financial capitalists. Then too, its devotion to the ideology of opposition to sinking funds is not going to help relieve the depression. Its belief in bureaucratic politics will not allow it to clean up the public administration system from its roots. Checked by the "Gunbatsu", the present Cabinet, unable to lessen the burden of the people through disarmament, has lost the confidence of the people. Although the people's desire and political powers cannot be molded together there is no other way but for the people to favor the Seiyukai. The unconditional surrender of the Privy Council is undoubtedly paving the way for a constitu-

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tional government. Furthermore, this one incident has broken the wild dreams of the Seiyukai, and if this accords a good opportunity to tread the righteous path toward constitutionalism, this will be the path toward righteous thinking not only for the Seiyukai but for others as well.